THE TRVE WAY TO VERTVE AND HAPPINESSE.

Intreating ſpecially of CONSTANCIE in publike Calamities, and priuate Afflictions.

Digeſted into three Bookes.

The firſt whereof containeth a learned diſcourſe againſt *Pouerty, Sickeneſſe*, and all the *Paſsions of the Minde*. Obſeruations vpon *Court-Fauourites*, and *Stateſmen*. Conſiderations vpon the beginning of *Monarchies*, and the neceſſitie of their end, and ruine: Beautified with the Examples of Ancient and Moderne Hiſtories.

The ſecond, a definition of *diuine Prouidence*. The true deſcription of *Nature, Deſtinie*, and *Fortune*. Their errour that attributed vnto them what ought to be aſcribed to *Gods Prouidence*. Conſiderations vpon the fall of the French King *Henry* the third. Why the innocent ſuffer for the guiltie, and Children for their Fathers ſinnes.

The third, whether a good Subiect bee bound in time of Troubles either for Religon, or State-Gouernment to follow a Partie, or lye ſtill and reſt. His dutie both in publike and priuate, vpon thoſe occaſions. The immortalitie of the Soule curiouſly prooued againſt Atheiſts by humane reaſons. A ſerious exhortation to a Religious Conſtancie.

Printed for *Thomas Dewe* and are to be ſold at his Shop in Saint *Dunſtons* Church-yard in Fleetſtreet. 1623.

BRITISH MUSEUM

TO THE RIGHT HONOVRABLE, AND MY ſingular good Lord and Maſter, HENRY, Lord *Morley*, and *Mount-eagle*, Baron of *Rye*.

SInce your Lordſhip hath bin pleaſed to make me the vndeſeruing Obiect of many of your Fauors, thereby to demonſtrate vnto the world the truly Nobleneſſe of your owne diſpoſition, in fauouring ſuch weake Deſerts, as durſt not preſume ſo much as to challenge the honour of your Lordſhips fauorable aſpect; I could doe no leſſe, then in a thankfull remembrance thereof, by this poore Teſtimonie of my bounden ſeruice, expreſſe the deſire I haue to manifeſt vnto your Lordſhip my thankefull heart; and withall, ſeeke for ſafegard vnder your Lordſhips Protection: Hoping thereby,

that the Beames of your gracious Aſpect will diſperſe theſe Guſts of Calumniation, and Gulfes of Enuy, which will ſtriue to ſwallow this poore ſtrange Barke, adorned in *Engliſh* Rigging. Vnto which, if your Lordſhip will be pleaſed but to adde the Colours of your owne Honor, thereby to be knowne to whom ſhee belongs; I make no queſtion, but by that meanes ſhee will be ſecurely wafted along through theſe Tempeſts, vnto the Hauen of Benigne Acceptation; And there will remaine euer at your Lordſhips command, as dayly will alſo

Your Lordſhips moſt humble and

obedient Seruant,

ANDREVV COVRT.

TO THE READER.

Courteous Reader, I haue long beene in Queſt for ſome worthy peece to preſent vnto your view: at laſt by good Fortune, I haue lighted vpon one, cut by the curious hand of France, which in its proper colours deſerues all commendations. If my vnproper colours haue any wayes diſcountenanced it, I hope you will not blame the peece, though you haue colour for it. I am confident, thoſe who are iudicious, well know how hard and difficult a thing it is for a Stranger to attaine vnto the perfection of the Engliſh tongue; and what labour hee muſt beſtow to ſeeke and ſift, begge and borrow proper words and phraſes to expreſſe himſelfe. Therefore for ſuch errours as I haue committed, I preſume they will grant mee their pardons, and take neuertheleſſe this little Eſſay of mine in good part. Which if I can obtaine, I will repriue many an houre from my other occaſions to doe them ſeruice in this kinde.

A. C.

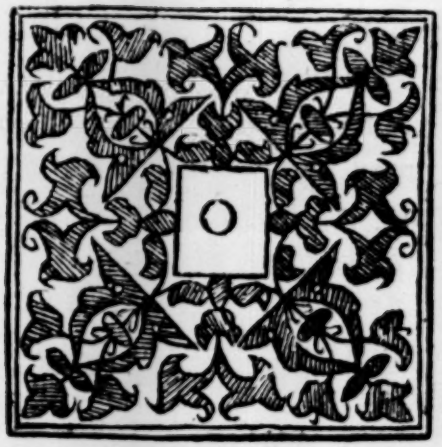
Errata.

PAge 5. *line* 31. *reade* this age. *p.* 9. *l* 26. *r:* you ſhall be bound to. *p.* 10. *l.* 30. *r.* Eſtimatiue. 14. 14. their teares. 14. 15. did depend of. 21. 9. not the. 27. 9. ſeparated. 27. 21. wee ought not. 28. 15. penetrate into our. 29. 27. fees. 45. 21. their Deſtinie. 75. 27. of ſo many. 81. 4. and infamous. 82. 15. almoſt all their. 83. 7. Baſtille. 85. 10. Cittie. 86. 30. all this is nothing. 87. 16. are eaten. 90. 3. you haue. 90. 27. fall on. 93. 3. All good. 96. 25 to teach others. 96. 32. deſire into the ſoule of thoſe that liue in following ages to reſemble. 97. 10. others are vtterly. 98. ill incounters. 101. 18. which were ſo troubled. 102. 8. dimme fire. 102. 23. whether. 102. 29. eúer. 103. 11. Poets. 103. 20. perſecuted. 106. 5. he doth not puniſh the wicked but by the wicked. 110. 21. cuill. 119. 5. that this. 123. 11. and bringing. 124. 26. with it. 127. 14. It is time. 128. 1. the loſſe. 129. 5. and vnexperienced. 129. 9 that it is. 130. 14. raſh. 136. 5. according. 136. 6. riſe as early. 136. 12. his ſiſters. 136. 27. ſent away. 137. 12. Citizens may compoſe. 137. 13. an excellent and perfect. 141. 23. no knowledge thereof but. 145. 2. drawne. 148. 18. chuſeth for its. 151. 7. I doe not ſay onely. 151. 10. and many others after him. 151. 27. the very name. 154. 15. which is falſe, is not. 154. 25. he embraceth all. 155. 18 bring it to paſſe. 156. 2. and all his motions. 156. 22. into that celeſtiall.

MVSAEVS,

OR

THE FIRST BOOKE OF CONSTANCY.



ON a day, during the ſiege that *Paris* ſuffered with ſo much Miſerie; I walked alone in my garden, being ſad to the very ſoule for the hard fortune of my diſtreſſed Country. And as a mans paſſion beeing too much ſoothed vp, doth increaſe beyond meaſure; I began to accuſe heauen for powring downe vpon vs ſuch cruell influences; and could with a good will haue argued with God himſelfe; had not a ſecret feare awed my ſorrow. Amidſt theſe my perplexed thoughts, there arriued one of my deereſt friends, a man perfectly ſeene in all manner of Sciences, eſpecially in the Mathematicks, but farre more to be commended for his ſingular honeſty, and faithfull integritie (rare vertues in this Age) his name for this time ſhall be *Muſæus*; ſince his Modeſtie forbids

me to call him otherwiſe. After the firſt ſalutation, and ſome familiar diſcourſe, hee ſeriouſly eyed me, and beholding the freſh markes of my teares on my Cheekes, ſaith: I doe not aske you, what diſcourſe you entertaine your ſelfe withall, I reade it in your countenance, good men are little buſied, but with the apprehenſion of the Publique calamity. This wound ſtriketh vs ſo ſharpely, that wee cannot but point at it: But how is it? Yeſterday when I viſited you, I found you in the ſame caſe: For the firſt time I made no ſhew of any reprehenſion, but ſeeing you continue, and ſuffer your ſelfe to be ouer-runne with paſſion, I muſt needes aske you, what you haue done with your Phyloſophy? I ſeeke you in your ſelfe, for I cannot beleeue, that hee, from whom I receiued ſo much comfort, can now bee wanting to himſelfe. There is nothing ſo iuſt, as for one to receiue that which he hath preſcribed another: either reſtore me to the libertie of weeping, that your diſcourſes tooke from me, or elſe obey the law, your ſelfe ordayned for ſorrow. O deere *Muſæus*, I learne now by experience, how much eaſier it is to ſpeake then to doe: and how weake, and ſinew-leſſe the arguments of Phyloſophy are in the Schoole of Fortune. Shall I tell you freely, what I thinke of it? Our Phyloſophy doth nothing but bragge, and boaſt; ſhe triumphes in the ſhadow of a Schoole, with her foyles in her hand: It is good ſport to ſee her ſtand on her gard, ſhewing her ſeuerall poſtures, and ſo nimbly defending her ſelfe, that you would thinke it were impoſſible that any worldly croſſe

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ſhould come ſo neere as to giue her a hit; but let her come in open Field, with naked Sword, and that Fortune chaunce but to ſtrike her one ſound clappe, ſhee is quickly daunted and diſarmed. This griefe which with words wee ſtriue withall, is a faigned thing, like thoſe woodden men, or *Quintanes*, ſet vp for Countrey-Boyes diſport, which ſuffer themſelues to bee aymed at, and receiue the blow defenceleſſe. True griefe is another thing, it is liuely, vigorous, and ſtirring: it aſſaulteth, and ſurpriſeth vs, and gripeth vs ſo faſt, that it leaues vs helpeleſſe. Hath it once touched vs? Let vs ſet as good a face on't as wee can, it ſmarteth neuertheleſſe: and though for a time we gnaſh our teeth, obſtinately induring the paine, for feare wee ſhould confeſſe what trouble it is; yet in the end, it will make it ſelfe knowne, and wreſt from forth our breſt, thoſe groanes, and ſighes, that we refuſed to graunt vnto it voluntarie. No, beleeue it, that in ſuch fits as theſe, Nature and our Phyloſophy cannot agree together: You muſt chooſe which of the two you will keepe. Had you power to expell Nature, that is the lawfull Miſtreſſe of our paſſions; and which ſhee fearing, that wee might ſuffer our ſelues to bee beguiled with ſlye words, and alluring diſcourſes, and ſo withdraw vs from her obedience, keepeth within vs a garriſon of her affections, which narrowly obſerue and watch vs, and vpon all occaſions that are offered, exact from vs the tribute that we owe her? Either teares are no naturall ſignes and markes of a true griefe,

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or elſe wee ought to yeeld them to the Euill wherein Nature is moſt offended, which is in the ruine & ſubuerſion of our Countrey; for by that fatall Blow are wounded all thoſe, that are conioyned to vs eyther in Bloud, Friendſhip, or Alliance: but if wee haue no feeling of their paines, and compaſſion of their miſeries; I ſay, that then wee violate and infringe both Ciuill Lawes and naturall Pietie, and the Maieſtie it ſelfe of that great God, whoſe Spirit reſteth among vs, as a Protector of the rights of human ſociety. I was already offended with your troubleſome Philoſophie, which forbiddeth vs teares: but reading to day an ancient Author, I reſolued to driue her away ſpightfully, ſo pleaſing was a place to me, I lighted on by chance, wherein he writeth, That in the Towne of *Cumæ*, there was a Statue of *Apollo*, which was ſeene to weepe, and ſhed forth teares, when the *Romans* deſtroyed the Towne from whence it was fetcht, as being grieued that its Countrey ſhould be ruined, and that not able to aſſiſt, becauſe the ruine of it was fatall, and had beene by *Apollo* long fore-told. And ſhall a Marble Statue finde teares to deplore its Countrey, and I finde none to bemoane mine? Being remooued ſo farre off, it ſuffered for the calamities of its fellow Citizens; and ſhall not I ſigh vpon the view of mine, and amidſt all their miſeries? No, no, I am a true-hearted ſubiect; I am bred and borne in the Towne, which I ſee now expoſed to ruine: beleeue this, that a man whoſe eyes are without moyſture at this preſent, had need to haue a heart of Stone; yea, I thinke, if Pietie were not fled out of the World, wee ſhould weepe as well

as

as the *Cumæan Apollo*, for our reaſons (I am ſure) are greater. This faire Citie, the Metropolis of the moſt renowmed Kingdome of the Earth, the Seat of our Kings, the Throne of Iuſtice, and Eſtate, and as a common Temple to all *France*; to periſh in our view, and euen by our hands: the Richeſſe of her Citizens, the Magnificence of her Buildings, the Learning of ſo many famous men, that ſhee hath brought vp, could neyther ſaue, nor helpe her. O how fitly did an ancient Author expreſſe the power of God, vnder the Name of Fortune, when hee ſaid, That when ſhee had reſolued vpon any thing, ſhee blinded the eyes of man, for feare hee ſhould interrupt her purpoſe! Conſider a little, how wee haue almoſt euery one of vs vnawares giuen way to our owne ruines, and affoorded our helping hands to the plucking downe euen of our owne houſes: for you know *Muſæus*, what infinite number of men, euen of the wiſeſt amongſt vs, haue combined to ſet forward this deſigne, and caſt vs into this boyſterous ſtorme of worſt then Ciuill Warres. Behold, wee are in it, ſince that it is Gods pleaſure, at the Eue of a great ſhipwracke, wherein wee muſt feare alike the rage and furie of our zealous Domeſtickes, thirſting after the bloud of thoſe that wiſh for the publique welfare, and the violence that may happen from thoſe that are abroad, which ſhould be inflicted promiſcuouſly againſt good and bad; and in this Sea of Miſeries, you will forbid me teares. As farre as I ſee, replyed hee, this time cauſeth euery one to ſhift ſides, which perhaps is the fault of the age: for my owne part, I haue euer maintained Nature againſt

your Phyloſophy, for in my conceit, you made her too powerfull, and would haue giuen her a commiſſion too violent, and tyrannicall. But it falleth out commonly, that the wrong that is done to one, whom we loue not, reconcileth vs to him, and mooueth vs for pittie ſake to vndertake his defence. I ſee you diſhonour the day, and diſgrace Phyloſophy, that hath ſo tenderly, and deerely foſtered vs, and that you ſuffer paſſions to treade vpon her, who dares not ſo much as to defend her ſelfe. You ſurnamed her afore Queene of this Life, Miſtreſſe of our Affections, Tutrix of our Felicitie; and now you onely keepe her as a Buffoone, to ſpend your idle time withall: entertaine her at leaſt as one that is deſcended of noble Stocke, you haue no reaſon to forſake her; if you will diuorce your ſelfe, reſtore vnto her the libertie ſhe brought your houſe, let her retire with ſafe honour, and with all her rights and priuiledges. As for my part, I maintaine her free, and profeſſe my ſelfe a protector of her libertie: I dare not giue her the power, to take away from body and ſoule the ſence of paines and griefe, for I know it ought to giue way to naturall affections: but I hold, it keepeth in, and reſtrayneth ſorrows within their bounds, and bankes, which otherwiſe would ouerflow the ſoule, and in time will qualifie, and aſſwage thoſe ſwelling euils. I ſee by your countenance that you are too much incenſed, and will agree to nothing: here come happily two of our beſt friends, vnto whoſe iudgement I hope you willingly ſubmit, and as for my part, I am content to ſtand to their triall.

triall. Now these were two famous men: the first, whom for this time we will name *Orpheus*, besides the knowledge of Arts and Learning, hee hath purchased himselfe by his long and dangerous trauels great experience: The other shall be called *Linus*, who is knowne for one of the most learned in Europe, whose iudgement and sinceritie is much esteemed. O *Musæus*, you haue (quoth I) chosen Iudges that I cannot refuse, for indeed they are not chosen, but rather as I beleeue, they are sent vnto vs euen as the gods that were let downe by deuice in Tragedies, to act some great exploite beyond the power of man. For my part, I hold my opinion to be so sound and true, and so deepely printed in my heart, that none, but such holy hands as theirs can roote it out. Vpon this we drew neere and saluted each other. We feare (quoth they) we hinder your discourse, wherein it seemeth you are farre gone, and by your lookes wee iudge you disagree. You guesse well (quoth *Musæus*) and you are seasonably come to reconcile vs, for wee haue assigned you Iudges of our controuersie. The precept of the wise, forbiddeth vs to be Iudges betwixt our friends, yet we will do our best to reconcile you: but we must tell you freely, we haue come farre, therefore giue vs leaue to sit. Then *Linus* began to tell, that he heard a pittifull Historie of a poore woman, which for want of Bread to giue her Children, hanged her selfe on a Beame in the toppe of the house. And I (quoth *Orpheus*) did see euen now, a poore maid, that fell downe starke dead for lacke of foode: and a little after, I met some

poore

poore ſolkes, feeding vpon a dead Dogge, all beſmeared with bloud, that they had broyled; and as I auoyded this grieuous Spectacle, I met with certaine Women that cryed out and ſaid, That the Lanskenets had eaten vp Children, hard by a place that is called the *Temple*, which I cannot beleeue. Hearing this, wee all burſt out into ſighes: whereupon I replyed, my cauſe is gayned; ſince none here could forbeare, but needes muſt, vpon recitall of this pittifull Hiſtorie, expreſſe how ſenſible they are of the publike miſerie. I leaue it then to your conſideration to imagine, how wee ought to quake, and tremble, when wee bethinke our ſelues, how many ſeuerall ſorts of Miſeries are ſpred ouer this vaſte and populous Citie. Alas, how many ſecret Wounds is there that are hidden and couered by ſhame? then how great and fearefull are the Calamities wee fore-ſee, expect, and cannot almoſt auoyd. You vpbraid me with my teares *Muſæus*, but you may with better reaſon obiect vnto me the hardneſſe of my heart, which is the onely impediment that ſo ſharpe and ſtinging griefe doth not at one inſtant end both my life and ſorrowes. Then turning towards *Orpheus*, and *Linus*, I gaue them to vnderſtand, what diſcourſes paſſed betweene *Muſæus* and my ſelfe, and vpon what points wee differred: Which when they heard, Our good Fortune (quoth *Orpheus*) hath brought vs hither in a very luckie time, to heare ſo learned Diſputations: but *Muſæus*, ſince you haue done vs the honour to giue credit to vs, giue vs alſo leaue to make vſe of the authoritie you haue granted vs, and in ſtead of diſcourſing and demonſtrating your Propoſitions,

poſitions,apply them,and make triall of their vertue vpon vs, whereof you boaſt, againſt this irkeſome diſeaſe of the minde,which is the griefe that we all receiue from the publique miſerie : you haue a faire and large ſubiect, for I verily beleeue, there is not one of vs, whoſe minde is free from this diſeaſe. I aſſure my ſelfe,that if Antiquitie hath inuented any medicine for the curing of a troubled minde, you are the likeſt to haue got the beſt and profitableſt receipts. But I feare it falleth out here, as it doth in your Mathematicall demonſtrations, wherein you prooue by a thouſand faire Propoſitions, what no Artificer can make vſe of, eyther vpon Wood or Stone. Proceede then,and make your accompt; if you can aſſwage our minde, and free vs from this griefe wherewith we are vexed, then your ſuit is granted; for deedes are ſtronger proofes then words: beſides,if you beguile vs, you ſhall doe vs but a curteſie to rid vs of ſo great an Euill, & ſo I am ſure our Land-Lord will be glad to be ouercome, for he ſhall gaine by the loſſe. I will doe my beſt endeauour to content you (quoth *Muſæus*) but let me intreate you,to remember that we labour in a common peece of worke : therefore,if I chance in rehearſall of this matter, to forget materiall reaſons; that you call to minde, and ſupply my wants, ſince that our ſtriſe is onely to try Truth out : and to the end Reaſon may ouercome,you ought the more to fauour her ſide, in reſpect the reward of victorie is equall to vs all.

The chiefeſt thing to be obſerued in the curing of a diſeaſe,is rightly to know the cauſe of it : wherefore, if wee be deſirous to free our ſoule from ſor-

row, and restore it to a quiet estate, it is needefull in my opinion to examine from whence proceeds the maladie which torments it. The nature of man hath not onely a great proportion and correspondencie with the whole World, but also with euerie part; and especially me thinkes, when it resembles the Royall State, they are both almost of like conditions, and subiect to like casualties. The Soueraigne Prince that is to rule a multitude of men, Townes, and Prouinces, appointeth subordinate Magistrates: And to direct and instruct them in the execution of their charge, giues them his Lawes to rule their Actions by: and besides, aduiseth them to referre doubtfull and important matters to him, & attend his censure. Certainly, as long as this Order is obserued, Subiects obey the Magistrates; and Magistrates, the Law and Soueraigne Prince: the State remaineth in Peace, flourisheth, and wonderfully prospereth. But contrarie, when those which iudge and rule vnder the Soueraigne, suffer themselues to be ouer-reached by their owne softnesse, or bribed by fauour, in deciding controuersies, and that without respect vnto their Soueraigne; they make only vse of their authoritie, for the execution of their rash Decrees, whereby they bring all things to ruine and confusion. In man, the highest and most soueraigne facultie of the Soule, is Vnderstanding: being inthroned in the highest place, to guide and conduct all his liues Actions, hath appointed and ordained an vnder-facultie, that we call Imaginatiue, to dispose and iudge by the representation of the Sences, the qualitie and condition of things offered, with authoritie to rouse and stirre our

affections,

affections, for execution of its iudgement. And least that Facultie, as it is great and important, might doe any thing rashly, it hath proposed vnto it as a Law, the light of Nature, which shineth in all obiects, and moreouer hath giuen it meanes in all doubtfull and weightie matters, to haue recourse to the discourse, reason, and counsell of it that commandeth ouer all. There is no doubt, as long as this Order is kept in the managing of mans life, but he is in an exceeding happy estate, and that this great, and generous creature, sheweth himselfe worthy to be the master-peece of that Soueraigne Architect that created him. But I know not what ill lucke is the cause man doth not enioy this happinesse: for this Facultie, that is beneath Vnderstanding, & aboue the Sences, to whom belongeth the censure of things, suffereth it selfe for the most part to be corrupted and mis-led, and so conceiueth rashly; and after it hath so conceiued, stirreth and mooueth our affections at randon, and leaueth vs full of trouble and vnquietnesse. The Sences, true Sentinels of the Soule, set abroad to view all Obiects, are like soft waxe, on which is printed, not the true and internall Nature, but onely the superficiall and externall forme of things: they present their *Idea's* vnto the Soule with fauour, and euen with a fore-iudgement of their qualitie, according as they appeare seuerally pleasing and gracefull to them; and not as they are profitable and necessarie to the vniuersall well-fare of man: and moreouer, let in with the *Idea's*, the fond opinion of the Vulgar; from whence is framed, that inconsiderate Opinion we haue of things, that they are good or bad, profitable

or hurtfull, to be imitated, or to be ſhunned, which certainly is a dangerous guide, and raſh miſtreſſe to follow, and iuſtly ſuch as our *Belleau* hath ſet it forth.

Opinion that is conſtant neuer,
That workes in vaine, and ſtriueth euer:
That builds her ſelfe a firme aſſurance,
Vpon the ſands of light inconſtance.

But whoſoeuer will carefully obſerue her effects, ſhall find her farre worſe then he deſcribeth her: for ſhe is no ſooner bred vp, but ſhe without reſpect or vnderſtanding, ſeizeth vpon our Imagination, and there, as if ſhe were within a Citadell, ſtandeth out in defiance againſt true Reaſon: And like a Tyrant, that violently hath ſeized on a Towne by force, ſetteth vp Wheeles and Gibbets for thoſe that will not readily obey, and offereth reward to thoſe who will follow his partie. Euen ſo, when ſhe entends to make vs flye from any thing, ſhe ſetteth it forth vnto vs, with a horride and dreadfull viſage: but when ſhe would delight vs, ſhe painteth it ouer, and giueth it a ſmyling countenance, whereby ſhe ſlydeth downe into our hearts, and ſtirreth our affections with violent motions of hope and feare, ſorrow and pleaſure: and becauſe ſhe would be ſure for to diſquiet vs, ſhe rouzeth vp our paſſions, which are the true diſturbers of our Soule. But amongſt all the other, and aboue all the reſt, this ſorrow, wherewith I ſee you poſſeſſed (which is nothing but a decay of Spirit, and drooping, bred by the opinion we haue, that we are afflicted

flicted with great misfortunes) is a dangerous Enemie to our reſt: for it is incredible, how much this ruſt and mouldineſſe, that is gathered in the Soule by ſuch accidents, is contrarie to Nature, and doth blemiſh and disfigure her workemanſhip: it marreth her Faculties, dulleth and benummeth her Vertues: when contrariwiſe ſhe ſhould rouze vp her ſelfe, to withſtand the miſchiefes that threaten vs, and letteth into our hearts a deeper cauſe of our griefe. Now ſince ſhe is hurtfull to vs, me thinkes we ſhould beware of her; and to the end ſhe may not deceiue vs, diſcouer, and diligently view her before ſhe hath got footing in vs, & withſtand her in the verie Frontiers. And whereas ſhe would inſinuate her ſelfe vnder the name of Nature; let vs obſerue that ſhe is an Enemie to her, who only maketh a ſhew, as if ſhe would eaſe our paine: But let vs take notice how ſhe encreaſeth it, as much as ſhe can. She ſeemeth to be deuout, and religious, let vs bring forth her deceit and impietie: when as ſhe would ſlip in by the fauour of Errour, let vs driue her away by the authoritie of Reaſon and Truth. Firſt of all, to ſhew that ſhe cannot be ſheltered vnder the name of Nature, that ſhe proceedeth not from her, and is not a common Affection, wherewith all men be tormented alike: doe we not ſee thoſe things that cauſe griefe and ſorrow to ſome, to breed mirth and delight in others? That one Prouince weepeth, for what another laugheth? That ſuch as come neere them that mourne and lament, doe exhort them to be of a good reſolution, and leaue off their teares? Heare the moſt part of them that are afflicted, when you haue ſpoken with

them, and they haue taken time and leyſure to examine their owne paſſions: they will confeſſe, it is a folly to be vexed, and within three houres after, will prayſe them that haue manfully withſtood Fortune in their aduerſities, and incountered their owne afflictions with a bold and generous courage. So that in all this, there is neither equalitie nor certaintie, as there is in the workes of Nature: and thereby it appeareth, that men doe not frame their moane to their ſorrow, but to the opinion of thoſe they liue withall. Remember I pray you that publique mourning, the Ancients did ſo much affect. What doe you ſay of them that were hired to weepe and lament in Funerals? The teares which came from others eyes, that were ſhed onely to bee ſeene, and were dryed vp as ſoone as they were not looked on: were they naturall, or artificiall? What was the intent of thoſe that were hired, and likewiſe of thoſe that hired them, but onely to ſubmit themſelues vnto that tyrannicall opinion forged in thoſe Countreys, that in ſuch aceidents it behooued vs to weepe: and as for them that had no ſorrow of their owne, were bound to buy it of their Neighbours for readie money? Did not ſuch people betray their owne Reaſon wittingly, and purpoſely proſtitute their manlineſſe? Shall we deeme they did euer learne ſuch bad conditions in the Schoole of Nature? But rather in the Schoole of Opinion, that teacheth how to peruert Nature to pleaſe the Vulgar, and which bringeth forth nothing but is counterfeit and painted. For proofe of this, will you behold, with how much vanitie, it breedeth, feedeth, and bringeth vp this ſorrow,

where-

wherewith we are ſo much tormented? I pray obſerue in your ſelfe, and in all thoſe that are afflicted, whether thoſe things ſhee ſetteth forth vnto vs, as cauſes of our griefe, doe not vex vs either more, or ſooner then they ought to doe? The chiefeſt inſtrument ſhe hath, and wherewithall ſhe moſt diſturbeth vs, conſiſteth in euils to come. She hath power ouer vs onely by fraud, and deceit. She knoweth, that the croſſes we ſtood in feare of, prooue not ſo heauie when they are come, as we did imagine them, and are aſſwaged by vſe, and cuſtome. Therefore ſhe caſteth her ſelfe vpon time to come, as into a thicke darkeneſſe, and taketh her opportunity, euen as many chuſe night to ſtrike men with feare: vpon ſmall occaſion, ſhe doth then repreſent calamities vnto vs, as they doe Robin-good-fellowes vnto little Children: They raiſe, abate, increaſe, and leſſen them at their pleaſure, becauſe they talke vnto them of things they neuer ſaw. She tormenteth vs with Euils that are not: but in regard we deeme them, or feare them to be ſo, and which doe not ſo much offend vs by their nature, as by our apprehenſion; how many haue we ſeene make their calamities true Euils, with ouermuch griefe, which for feare to be wretched, are become ſo, and haue turned their vaine timorouſneſſe into a certaine miſerie? Some haue been ſo frighted with pouertie, that they haue fallen ſicke vpon't: Others through iealouſie of their wiues, haue been driuen into a conſumption: And the like may be ſaid well-neere of all other feares, wherein for the moſt part, it ſerueth vs in no other ſtead, but to make vs finde, what we ſeeke to auoide. Let vs feare no more

more, we ſhall haue no hurt, at leaſt we ſhall not haue it, till it comes; and let it come when it will, it will neuer be ſo bad as we thought it. As for me, I beleeue, that of all Euils, Feare is the moſt powerfull, and troubleſome: for others are Euils no longer then they laſt, and the paine ceaſeth with the cauſe. But Feare is, of that which is, of that which is not, of that which perchance ſhall neuer be, yea, many times of that which cannot be. O tyrannicall Paſſion! which to vex man, goeth beyond Nature, and by our diſcontents, extracteth a griefe out of that which is not, and to ſatisfie the opinion of a fained, and imaginarie miſerie, draweth from vs ſharpe, and ſtinging torments. Like vnto the Painter *Parrhaſius*, who the better to expreſſe the fabulous torments of *Prometheus*, put his Bond-ſlaues to the Racke. Why ſhould we be ſo ambitious to our harme, and in ſuch haſt meete with our euils? Let vs take a little patience, and ſuffer it to come neere; happily, the time which we think will bring vs afflictions, will afforde vs comfort. How many chances may there fall that may auert the blow we feare? A Thunder bolt is turned away with the wind of a Hat, and the fortunes of powerfull Kingdomes, are altered in a moment: a turne of a wheele ſetteth vp that which was downe; and often from whence we expected ruine, we receiue ſafetie. There is nothing ſo eaſie to be beguiled, as humane Prudence: what ſhe hopeth for, miſcarryeth, and what ſhe feareth, comes to paſſe, and that falleth out ſhe lookes not for. God keepeth his counſell by himſelfe, what man reſolueth vpon one way, he determineth another. Let vs not make our

ſelues

ſelues vnhappy before the time,and (it may be) we ſhall not be ſo at all. Future time that deceiueth ſo many,ſhall as ſoone deceiue vs in our feares,as in our hopes. It is one of the chiefeſt Maximes in Phyſicke, That, Predictions are neuer certaine in ſharpe diſeaſes. If violent motions of heate,bereaueth the Phyſitian of iudgement; what wiſe man dare be ſo bold as to aſſure any thing of the ſucceſſe of our Ciuill diſſentions, which are apparantly ſeene to be ſtirred vp, and maintained by a more then human power? It is a hard matter to warrant the ſafetie of our State, but it is likewiſe vncertaine to fore-tell his ruine. How many Cities,States,and Empires, haue been ſhaken, and tottered with inteſtine accidents, and ſuch, that thoſe which beheld them,looked certainly for their fatall period;and neuertheleſſe,haue the better ſetled themſelues, and become more puiſſant and flouriſhing then euer they were?

Gainſt whom in entring, Fortune in hate doth burne,
On thoſe ſhe often ſmiles in their returne.

It is his pleaſure,thoſe that are caſt downe, ſhould hope ſtill; and ſhall not we, that are but as yet declyning? The Romanes, which I willingly challenge for witneſſes in braue and generous Actions, as the renownedſt and moſt couragious people that euer were in the world, had great cauſe to deſpaire of their affaires, after the Gaules had ſacked their Towne, and with Fire and Sword rooted out the very Ground-plot of their State. Notwithſtanding, they abated neither in their hopes, nor affections

they boare their Countrey: But contrarie, aduerſity increaſed their courage, and were ſo confident as to bid another Battaile, wherein Fortune was ſo propitious to them, that they drew many braue Triumphs from their owne ruine. After the loſſe of ſo many Battailes againſt *Hannibal*, and that they had waſted all the Youth of their City; in ſo many incounters, and diſaſters, had they not cauſe to be ſore troubled? Contrariwiſe, there were Citizens found, which bad Money for the Field whereon *Hannibal* incamped, being ſtill in good hope of the publique welfare.

And to paſſe to the Ciuill warres (which are commonly the fatall & deadly maladies of great States) Who would not haue thought the Roman Common-wealth had been ſtrucke dead at the very heart, vnder *Marius* and *Sylla*? And that the very City herſelfe vnder *Cæſar* and *Pompey*, was carried into the *Pharſalian* Field, there to be at the common charge and coſt of all men, torne and buried by all the Nations of the World? And neuertheleſſe, ſhe was neuer ſo puiſſant and tryumphant, as after the time of *Marius* and *Sylla*. And the warres of *Cæſar* and *Pompey* were but the fits and gripings of bringing forth the greateſt, faireſt, and moſt flouriſhing Empire of the World.

But to returne from ſtrange Nations to our ſelues: Who could haue beleeued that our poore State, laid leuell on the ground, at the comming in of *Charles* the ſeuenth, hauing almoſt neither pulſe nor breath, ſhould haue rayſed it ſelfe againe in ſo ſhort a ſpace, and ſtretched its Armes ouer all the neighbouring

Prouinces,

Prouinces, as it did ſoone after vnder his next Succeſſors? One may ſay of the fortunes of Townes and Kingdomes, as they doe of mans diſeaſes, As long as there is life, there is hope; Hope remaineth in the body, as long as the Soule.

But well, let vs hope for nothing, let vs hold our Euils for certaine, although they be vncertaine: let vs thinke them to bee preſent, though they bee to come. Doe you thinke if they did happen, they were ſo irkeſome and intollerable as wee imagine them? They would come farre ſhort. Baniſhment, Pouerty, loſſe of Honours, loſſe of Children, wherewithall is compoſed that Hoaſt of Euils which ſo tormenteth vs; their number is not ſo great, as we thinke: yet whoſoeuer will examine them one after another, ſhall find they are but raſcall ſtriplings, ſet in battle array, to affright vs; if we be armed as we ought, none of them dare make a ſhot, our very lookes will defeate and ſcatter them. Do you deeme it nothing (will you ſay) for a man to loſe his countrey, and ſo to be enforced to change his dwelling? What do you make of that naturall loue wee owe vnto our country? I do but the ſame which *Plato* did, when he forſooke *Athens*, to go and dwell in *Sicill* and *Egypt*; I doe but the ſame as you had done your ſelfe, if there had been an honourable occaſion offered to you, to go Ambaſſadour into ſome forraine countrey for ten or twelue yeeres: you had not onely forſooke your cittie, but (if you will ſay true) had it been needfull, you would haue forſooke the land to chooſe a ſhip for the place of your aboade, and tye your life to the tackling of a Barke. Let reaſon perſwade you

to that, which a little Honour would haue done: the Commandement of your Prince, that had charged you with it, would haue made you like it well: Let fate, and neceſſitie, vnto whom you owe more obedience, doe the ſame. How many men is there euen at this day, that voluntarily haue baniſhed thẽſelues out of *Europe*, to make plantations in the extremeſt parts of *Aſia*? See them, they prayſe their Fortune, as ſafe, and ſure, and repleniſhed with all manner of happineſſe, and pittie ours as altogether wretched, full of pouertie and troubles. It is heauen is the true and common countrey of man, from whence they are come, and whither they muſt returne: and that is the reaſon why it is ſeene, & ſheweth it ſelf to euery one almoſt whole, in all parts of the earth, in one day & night; whereas contrariwiſe the earth that is but a ſmall point in compariſon of it, and all which ſhe incompaſſeth with her Seas, and watereth with her Riuers, is not the hundreth and ſixtieth part of the magnitude of the Sun; ſheweth her ſelfe to vs onely in the very place we doe inhabite.

Would we tie the affections of man to ſo narrow an obiect, as a corner of the earth? and inforce him, for to be happie, to dwell ſtill in one place, which pleaſeth him in no other reſpect then that he may leaue it when he liſteth? Confine him to that country wherein hee tooke ſo much pleaſure, it will become irkeſome to him in an inſtant. He that liued all his life time within the walles of his towne, vntill hee was foureſcore yeeres of age, died for griefe as ſoone as he was forbidden to goe out of it, and began to hate that he did enioy by force, and to loue that which

was forbidden. And that braue Roman *Rutilius*, being called home from his baniſhment by *Sylla*, would not returne, and preferred the ſolitarineſſe of his Iland, before the greatneſſe and magnificence of his citie. See in how ſhort a time he had learned to make a ſmall reckoning of his countrey, he had rather loſe the ſight of it, then endure the ſight of him that oppreſſed its libertie: hee could brooke well baniſhment, but hated the Tyrant. But queſtion him, hee will not onely tell you that his baniſhment was tollerable, but will ſet it out to you to be ſweet and full of pleaſure: he will ſhew you that all his vertues followed him, and moreouer had purchaſed the friendſhip of Phyloſophy: and will tell you further he hath liued no longer then he hath beene baniſhed. It is no other then an imaginarie Loue that you bewayle, which hath no roote but in opinion, that a ſmall thing may plucke out. To a wiſe man all countreys are alike, or at leaſt, as *Pompey* ſayd, he ought to eſteem that his countrey where he hath his libertie. All ſorts of men are his fellow-citizens, he acknowledgeth them for Allies, for Kiaſ-folkes; all come from one maine ſtocke, which is the hand of that great Father who hath created all.

You ſee that fortune euen leadeth ſome by the hand out of their countrey, to make them great and mightie in a Forraine. Reckon vp, I pray you, the Emperours that reigned in *Rome* ſince *Traian*: how many of them were natiues in the cittie? will you ſay, that theſe men, whereof ſome had left *Spaine*, ſome *Sclauonia*, ſome *France*, ſome *Africke*, to attaine vnto the greateſt Empire of the world haue bin

to that, which a little Honour would haue done: the Commandement of your Prince, that had charged you with it, would haue made you like it well: Let fate, and neceſſitie, vnto whom you owe more obedience, doe the ſame. How many men is there euen at this day, that voluntarily haue baniſhed thẽſelues out of *Europe*, to make plantations in the extremeſt parts of *Aſia*? See them, they prayſe their Fortune, as ſafe, and ſure, and repleniſhed with all manner of happineſſe, and pittie ours as altogether wretched, full of pouertie and troubles. It is heauen is the true and common countrey of man, from whence they are come, and whither they muſt returne: and that is the reaſon why it is ſeene, & ſheweth it ſelf to euery one almoſt whole, in all parts of the earth, in one day & night; whereas contrariwiſe the earth that is but a ſmall point in compariſon of it, and all which ſhe incompaſſeth with her Seas, and watereth with her Riuers, is not the hundreth and ſixtieth part of the magnitude of the Sun; ſheweth her ſelfe to vs onely in the very place we doe inhabite.

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was forbidden. And that braue Roman *Rutilius*, being called home from his baniſhment by *Sylla*, would not returne, and preferred the ſolitarineſſe of his Iland, before the greatneſſe and magnificence of his citie. See in how ſhort a time he had learned to make a ſmall reckoning of his countrey, he had rather loſe the ſight of it, then endure the ſight of him that oppreſſed its libertie: hee could brooke well baniſhment, but hated the Tyrant. But queſtion him, hee will not onely tell you that his baniſhment was tollerable, but will ſet it out to you to be ſweet and full of pleaſure: he will ſhew you that all his vertues followed him, and moreouer had purchaſed the friendſhip of Phyloſophy: and will tell you further he hath liued no longer then he hath beene baniſhed. It is no other then an imaginarie Loue that you bewayle, which hath no roote but in opinion, that a ſmall thing may plucke out. To a wiſe man all countreys are alike, or at leaſt, as *Pompey* ſayd, he ought to eſteem that his countrey where he hath his libertie. All ſorts of men are his fellow-citizens, he acknowledgeth them for Allies, for Kinſ-folkes; all come from one maine ſtocke, which is the hand of that great Father who hath created all.

You ſee that fortune euen leadeth ſome by the hand out of their countrey, to make them great and mightie in a Forraine. Reckon vp, I pray you, the Emperours that reigned in *Rome* ſince *Traian*: how many of them were natiues in the cittie? will you ſay, that theſe men, whereof ſome had left *Spaine*, ſome *Sclauonia*, ſome *France*, ſome *Africke*, to attaine vnto the greateſt Empire of the world haue bin

ſorry, or ought to wiſh for their owne countrey? yea but our condition ſhall not be alike, wee ſhall come from the ſacking of a towne, naked as from a ſhip-wracke, and ſhall loſe all our fortunes. It is pouertie then we feare: Thats freely ſpoken. And what is it to feare pouertie? but to looſe a few faire moueables that we haue gathered, the commoditie of a houſe well furniſhed, a ſoft bed, meate well dreſſed. Take off the Maske from our complaints, & then you ſhall ſee the true face of our ſorrow. We are effeminate, there is our diſeaſe. A man that hath his limmes, ought he to complaine of pouertie? hee that hath a trade, ought he to feare it? He that is brought vp in learning, ought he to fly frō it? Extreme pouerty, that hath not wherewithall to ſuffice Nature, doth ſeldome happen: Nature dealeth very iuſtly with vs, ſhe hath framed vs ſo, that wee ſtand in neede of few things. If we apply our ſelues to her deſires, we ſhall be ſure of ſufficient; if to the opinion of the Vulgar, ſomething will alwayes ſeeme to be wanting. This other pouerſie, which is rather mediocritie and frugalitie, is to be deſired, ſo farre it is from being dreadfull: It is that *Archeſilaus* ſayd to be like vnto *Ithaca*, which was rough and harſh, but did bring forth generous and temperate men. It is vertues dowrie, and eſpecially in theſe times, where few rich haue been vertuous, and few vertuous haue been rich: and where, to ſpeake in a word, nothing hath hindered ſo much honeſt men from getting riches and honour, as to merit them. What ſtrange cares doe you thinke he ſhall diſpoyle vs of, that ſhall bereaue vs of our fortunes? he ſhall make vs truly Maſters of our ſelues:

ſelues: of which, affaires, ſuits in law, & quarrels, carry away the greateſt part: it ſhall be then all ours, we may then imploy it as we liſt. O falſe goods, whoſoeuer ſhould know you rightly, would deeme you to be true Euils! Who makes vs Bond-ſlaues but you? who cauſeth our iniuries but you? who taketh away our liberty but you? who tieth vs to the gates of Princes, makes vs Slaues to their ſeruants, to obſerue their actions, bow at their nods, but you? O Pelfe, none can prayſe you, but muſt diſpraiſe libertie; none can get or keepe you, that doth not loſe himſelfe; and neuertheleſſe you are called Goods. Yes, as conuenient inſtruments, & ſometimes neceſſary to worthy actions, whereof the vſe is ſo tickliſh and hard, that it ſeldome happeneth, that you doe more good then harme.

Now I grant it is good to haue wealth; yet for all that, it is not ill to haue none: for pouertie and richeſſe are indeed ſeuerall things, but not contrary; they are ſeuerall Goods, ſeuerall Inſtruments of Vertue: With the one ſhe worketh with more eaſe; with the other, to more perfection. But howſoeuer, Pouertie auaileth more to attaine to that ſoueraigne Good, at the which all the world ought to ayme, which is the reſt of the Soule, and the tranquilitie of the Mind. How many haue we euen at this day, which for the ſelfe-ſame cauſe doe embrace wilfull pouertie? How many which thinke not themſelues free, but ſince the day they made themſelues poore? that deeme they onely liue, ſince they died to the world? Since that our life is ſo ſhort, and we muſt depart from hence without carrying any thing with vs, is it not for our eaſe to bee as lightly loaden and incumbred with

luggage

luggage as we can? The life of a poore man is like vnto them, who sayle close by the shore; and that of the rich, vnto those that are in the mayne. These cannot land would they neuer so faine, but must waite for Winde, and Tide; those come neere when they please, it is but casting a small rope, and their Barke is brought instantly into the Harbour. O pouerty, how many things art thou fit for! he that should know thee, would not censure thee! Alas, if we did see as plainly the iealousies, feares, suspitions, terrors, and desires of great men, as we see the roofes of their houses, and forefronts of their Pallaces, the brightnesse of their houshold furniture, the glittering of their clothes, we would not enuy their fortunes. If one should say to vs, Loe you there, you must take all, or leaue all, bethinke your selues whether you will enioy his fortunes with all his incommodities; wee would goe backe, and neuer goe through with our bargaine, and deeme our selues happy in our pouertie. If it were as bad as they make it, we should not so highly prayse the *Fabritii*, *Serrani*, *Curii*, for that frugalitie, when they refused Gold and Siluer to till the ground, delights and pleasures to embrace labour, and dsinties to feed vpon Bread and Onions. What was it else, buta voluntarie Pouertie? It is a wonderfull thing, when wee iudge of Pouertie in strangers, she gaineth her cause; she goeth away with prayse and reputation: what is that, but to declare that our priuate interest doth corrupt and hinder vs from iudging right when as it concernethour selues? Certainly amongst impartiall persons it is commendable, but amongst any it is tollerable.

Now

Now if we can endure Pouertie, how much easier the losse of our dignities & honors, that are but a voluntarie seruitude, by which we are depriued of our selues to be bestowed vpon the Common-wealth? Honours, that alwayes haue brought vnto great men, that haue worthily managed them, banishment and pouertie? Remember the Histories of the Ancients, and when you finde a Magistrate, who boare any great sway with either Prince or Common-wealth, and that desired to carry himselfe worthily, & speake freely: I will hold you a wager, that this man was banished, that was killed, another poysoned. At *Athens*, *Aristides*, *Themistocles*, and *Phocion*; at *Rome* infinite, whose names I spare, for feare of filling Paper, contenting my selfe with *Camillus*, *Scipio*, and *Cicero* for antiquitie; *Papinianus* for the time of the Romane Emperours; and *Boetius* vnder the *Goths*. But why should wee fetch them so farre off? whom haue wee seene in our time keepe the great Seale of *France*, that hath not been preferred to this place, with an intent he should be thrust from it with disgrace? he that had seene my Lord Chancellor *Oliuer*, or my Lord Chancellour *de l'Hospital*, goe from the Court to retire themselues into their owne houses, questionlesse would say, that such honours are but as so many rockes and shelues of sand, whereon Vertue may split her selfe. Present vnto your memory those braue and venerable Ancients, in whom all manner of vertues did shine; in whom, amongst an infinite number of exquisite parts you could not tell what to choose, endowed with learning, exceedingly well experienced in all affaires, louers of their countrey, and truly worthy of such places, if the time had not been

vnworthy of them. After they had a long time tired out themſelues in the common-wealth, they pickt idle and ſleight quarrels, and falſe accuſations to put them from affaires of ſtate, or rather depriue the ſtate as a toſſed ſhip, of the directions of ſo wiſe and experienced Pilotes, whereupon ſhe might the ſooner ſuffer wracke. It is ambition at all times to deſire publicke offices; and faint-heartedneſſe to moane for them when they are gone; in this time it is madneſſe, in this I ſay, wherein the Magiſtrates authoritie doth humbly, yea ſhamefully ſerue the paſſions of thoſe, that haue the power in their hands, in a time where Freedome is capitall, and Truth offenſiue, where publike Miſery imploreth your helpe, and the violence of the wicked ſtoppeth your mouth.

It was not counſell *Cato* gaue vnto his ſonne, but an oracle he vttered to men of our times, when he aduiſed him not to meddle with affaires of ſtate: Becauſe (quoth he) the liberty of the time will not afford thee to do any thing worthy the name of *Cato*, nor *Catoes* name to do any thing vnworthy his generoſitie. As for me, I accuſe them that keepe yet publike offices, & beleeue that if there be any thing wherein threatning Fortune may fauour vs, it is to diſcharge good men of that burthen, that preſſeth their ſhoulders ſo ſore. So it is, that whoſoeuer will reckon his honors among his loſſes, like vnto thoſe that are to be lamented, and which may bee alleged for a iuſt cauſe of ſorrow, like vnto theſe we feare; I eſteeme him to be ouer-nice, and cenſure him from this preſent, vnworthy of the dignity hee feareth to loſe.

But, ſome one will ſay, what will you anſwer concerning the loſſe of our friends, our kinſ-folkes, our children,

children, whereof we are threatned by ſuch accidents as we feare? I will anſwer you, that although it were come to paſſe, that the ruine of our towne had ouerwhelmed thē, we ſhould haue wherewithall to cōfort our ſelues, for death would be very welcom vnto thē; we are not diſcontented, in my opinion, for that they are borne mortall, & therfore they muſt die one day, but only that they die at this time: we are not to learn that ſince they be borne men, they muſt be reſpected frō vs, they muſt either go before, or follow vs, & euen as well in peace, as in war, as ſoone by ſickneſſe, as by ſword: howſoeuer it be, they cannot auoyd the ſtroke of death, but either ſooner or later, a little before, or a little after is the matter troubleth vs ſo much. Can death come to them in a fitter time, then when as life is irkeſome? if they were to wiſh for it, or we for thē; what more conuenient ſeaſon could they chooſe? is not a harbor moſt to be deſired, whē we are extremely weather-beaten? The true end of death, is to put a period to our miſeries; if God had made life happier, he had alſo made it longer. We ought thē to bewaile their death for their ſake, & to do it for our own were vnſeemely: for it is a kind of iniury, to be grieued at the quiet of thoſe we loue, becauſe we are diſturbed thereby, ſpecially concerning the loſſe of our friends: there is a remedy left to vs ſtill, which Fortune how harſh and cruell ſoeuer ſhe be, cannot take from vs; for if wee ſuruiue them, we haue meanes to get others. As friendſhip is one of the greateſt bleſſings of life, ſo it is one of the eaſieſt to bee obtained: God maketh man, and man maketh friends, he that wanteth no Vertue, ſhall neuer want friends. It is the inſtrument wherewith they be made, & wherwith

when the old ones are loſt, new-ones are procured. If *Phidias* had loſt any of his famous Statues, what meanes had he to repaire that loſſe? none but to make vp again ſuch another: Hath Fortune taken away our friends from vs? Let vs make new-ones, and ſo we ſhall not loſe them, but multiply them. Thoſe ſhall goe afore, and ſtay for vs in the place prepared for faire and pure ſoules, and the others ſhall make the reſt of our way more delightſome by their company.

Perhaps (you will ſay) wee may take patiently thoſe aduerſities you told vs of; for, to ſpeake truely, that ſtriketh but vpon the gowne, and toucheth onely what is about vs, goods, honors, friends & childrē; but if the euill cōmeth any further, and doth penetrate our perſon, how ſhall we doe that we may not feele it? or feeling it, we may not torment our ſelues for it? Foraſmuch as you foreſee, that if the fury of our ſeditious citizens be turned once vpon vs, which they ſuſpect already, they will caſt vs into priſon, put vs to the racke, and rage againſt vs as they haue done againſt ſo many others, from whom we haue not been otherwiſe diſtinguiſhed, then by our good Fortune; or elſe as we are neere vpon it, if the town be taken or ſurpriſed, and is ſacked, and ſpoyled, we ſhal fall into the hāds of barbarous & inhuman ſouldiers, the more for that they are ſtrangers, which after they haue beaten and tormented vs, will keepe vs in a wofull thraldome, where perhaps we ſhall remaine ſicke, and languiſhing without reliefe; it may be they will add torture to ſickenes: And in the end we ſhal ſee our ſelues dying in this miſery, and for a ſurcharge, we ſhall haue about vs a company of poore little children, voyd of al comfort, and to whoſe compaſſion we ſhal

affoord

affoord nothing but ſighes. What minde ſo well ſetled will be able to endure ſuch fits? and finding himſelfe in ſuch a remedileſſe agony, doth not curſe a hundred times a day, and abhorre the houre of his birth, wiſhing rather to haue been abortiue, then ſeaſonably borne in ſuch a dangerous time. I confeſſe this to be the hardeſt, and moſt irkeſome, of all that may befall vs; but I deny it intollerable, and maintaine that Vertue may brauely withſtand this aſſault, get the victorie, and keepe our minde ſafe vnder her Buckler, full of quiet and content. But if we muſt come to fight, let vs not giue our enemies more aduantage then they haue already; let vs not make them bigger then they are, let vs not ſuffer them to come in a throng againſt vs; let vs compell them to come one by one to the breach.

The firſt that appeareth to fright vs, is a number of long & tedious diſeaſes. Why rather now then 20. yeeres agoe? Do we thinke diſeaſes to be more frequent and troubleſome in want then in wealth, in frugalitie then in prodigalitie? Good God, how blinde we are! Did wee euer finde in Cottages the Gout, the Stone, the Winde-collicke, or the Megrim in the head? I confeſſe I neuer ſaw any there, and yet I haue diligently obſerued it. All ſuch euils which are ſharpe and ſtinging diſeaſes, are moſt commonly in cities, in great mens Pallaces: they are the Sees of Bankets, Feaſts, Watchings, and of nights paſſed in pleaſing ſports. So that the miſeries we endure, amongſt other commodities they bring vnto vs, they take away the cauſe of thoſe great maladies, and root them out, cutting off the Fibers & Branches of plea-

ſures, which fed and maintained them. But admit they were to happen, where may they be better cured then in Pouertie ? What doe you thinke there is in the Bookes of *Galen* and *Hippocrates*, wholſomer to all, or at leaſt to moſt diſeaſes, then Sobrietie? All thoſe other remedies Phyſicke hath inuented with ſo much Art and induſtrie, are almoſt onely for Effeminate people, which would be cured with delight, and abate nothing of their pleaſures, chooſing rather Art then Nature for their Phyſitian. But yet I will grant we may want remedies: ſhould we want courage for all that? Shall we ſuffer our ſelues to be ſubdued by paine, and ſubmit that which is abſolute and ſoueraigne in vs, vnto that ſtrange power? It were too great a weakeneſſe, ſeeing the meanes Reaſon and Diſcourſe afford vs to withſtand it. Either the Diſeaſes that befall vs, bring with them a violent, or a moderate paine: if it be moderate, it is eaſie to be indured: We that are vſed to ſuffer, ought not to complaine of ſmall twitches: and being that we looke for greater, we ought to giue thankes vnto our Deſtinie, for quitting vs at ſo eaſie a rate, and making vs leſſe wretched, then we made account to haue been. Briefly, who can endure the plaints of him, that moaneth for a touch, ſpecially in a ſeaſon where no body is free from Euill? If the Euill be violent, it ſhall be ſhort; Nature doth not ſuffer great Euils to be laſting, and hath giuen them that comfort, that their quickneſſe doth almoſt take away the ſence of them. That goeth like a ſtreame, in an inſtant you ſee it dryed vp, and know not what is become of it: ſo ſhort an Euill giueth you no time to complaine; it is paſt, afore you

haue

haue taken notice of it: if you eſcape it, it leaueth you with a kinde of pleaſure to bee out of it; if it beareth you away, it carryeth with you the ſenſe of the paine. But whatſoeuer it is, the euill can neuer be ſo great, but reaſon and diſcourſe ought to ouercome it.

I could rehearſe vnto you the examples of the Ancients, not of men, but euen of women, which haue indured long and ſharpe diſeaſes with ſo much conſtancy, that paine hath bereaued them ſooner of life, then of courage. But why ſhould I go ſeeke them ſo farre off for you, that haue a domeſticke-one of your owne, farre worthier then any Antiquitie can affoord? I meane of your vertuous and deare ſiſter, which in that raging Collicke of ſixe moneths, that in the end carried her away, hath ſhewed ſo conſtant a minde, ſo inuincible a courage, that her ſpeech, which neuer failed her vntill the very end, was a comfort vnto them that ſaw her, and prayſes, and thankeſ-giuing vnto God, from whoſe hand ſhee receiued conſolation and ſtrength to endure the euill. But leſſe vs paſſe lightly ouer this skarre: I feare in ſtead of healing a new wound, I feſter an olde one, that hath ſo liuely and deepely touched you. As for the torments we are to feare from them, into whoſe hands we might fall; we ought not to doubt, that if we can take the reſolution, vnto the which both the reaſons and examples heretofore by me related, inuite vs, but we ſhall eaſily ouer-rule them, for they are not harder to be borne then great and painfull diſeaſes: it ſeemeth rather, that hauing body

and

and health to reſiſt them, Nature doth ſecond vs in this fight, to put the victorie into our hands. It is incredible, what power Reaſon and Diſcourſe haue in this place, not onely to make vs conſtant, but euen to make paine appeare to vs ſweet and pleaſant. It were an infinite thing to alledge the examples of thoſe, which haue not onely with an vndaunted courage waited for torments, but perſwaded by Reaſon, haue ſought and endured them with a kinde of pleaſure.

You know, how that in *Lacedæmonia*, young Children whipped one another, when one could not perceiue in their face any token or apprehenſion of pain: What then? were they inſenſible? No certainly, but in thoſe tender yeeres they had ſo fully perſwaded themſelues, that it was a great glory, to ſuffer and endure, to doe their Countrey ſeruice, that by their courage they eaſily ouercame paine, and griefe, and laughed at that, others were wont to weepe for. Cannot we for the honour of Vertue doe the like as they did for the honour of their Countrey? And for the quietneſſe of our Minde, that which they did for the good of their Common-wealth? *Alexanders* Page ſuffered himſelfe to be burned with a Cole, and made no ſhew to be mooued at it, leaſt he ſhould commit any vnſeemely thing in his Maſters preſence, and trouble the Ceremony of the Sacrifice. And ſhall not we in the preſence of Men, Angels, Nature, and of God himſelfe, endure ſomwhat that may ſhew we can accommodate our ſelues vnto the Lawes of the World, and to the Will of our Soueraigne? *Pompey* being Ambaſſadour for the Romanes, was ſurpriſed by

by King *Gentius*, that indeauoured to wreſt from him Publique affaires : but to ſhew him, there was no torture that could draw it from him, he put his owne Finger in the Fire, and ſuffered it to burne, vntill that *Gentius* himſelfe plucked it away. He ſought torment to make ſhew of the ſtrength of his fidelitie: And ſhall we betray our Soule, if torments befall vs? And forget the duetie we owe vnto that, that is Diuine in vs? Shall we then beare a deiected minde, and inthrall it to our body, to condole and ſuffer paines equall with it? Farre more generous was that braue *Anaxarchus*, that halfe bruized in the Tyrants Morter, would neuer confeſſe his minde to be touched with paine: Stampe on (quoth he) the caſe of *Anaxarchus*, for as for him you cannot hurt. Hence came that faire reſolution. Hence as from a quick-ſpring did flow that Conſtancie, whereby he had learned to deſpiſe the body, as a thing that is not our owne, nor in our power, and vſe it as a borrowed garment, to make ſhew for a time of our minde, vpon this low and tranſitorie Theater.

Now, were not he ouer-nice that ſhould howle and cry out, becauſe his Gowne were ſpoyled, or a Hooke had grapled it, or ſome one going by, had torne it? ſome baſe Broker, that would make gaines of ſuch Ware, would complaine of it. A Prince, a great Man, a wealthy Citizen, would laugh at it, and in compariſon of the reſt of his wealth, would make no reckoning of it. Let vs value our ſelues as we ought to doe, let vs be curious of our Honour and quietneſſe, and we ſhall make little account of all our body can ſuffer in this World. Yea, but the paine

will be ſo great, we ſhall loſe our Life by it, and ſhall ſee the Thread of our yeeres cut off in the verie middle: Who can free himſelfe from the Feare of this blow, that euen Nature her ſelfe doth abhorre? for though Death comes in due time, yet it is dreadfull: How much worſe will it be when it is haſtened, and gathereth vs vp freſh and greene, in the very prime of our Youth? We deceiue our ſelues, our Death hath nothing dreadfull of her ſelfe more then our Birth, Nature hath nothing that is ſtrange and terrible, Death is amongſt vs euerie day. and doth not ſcare vs, We dye euerie day, and euerie houre of our Life that is paſt, is dead. It is not the laſt drop comes out of the Bottle emptieth it, but finiſheth it; and the laſt moment of our Life doth not cauſe Death, but only ſheweth it. The chiefeſt part of Death conſiſteth in that wee haue liued; the more wee deſire to liue, the more wee deſire Death ſhould gaine by vs: but from whence comes this deſire? Euen from the Opinion of the Vulgar, that meaſures all by the Yard, and deemes nothing precious that is not great; whereas exquiſite and excellent things are commonly thinne and ſlender. It is the part of a skilfull workman to encloſe much in a little ſpace; and we may ſay, that it is almoſt fatall to illuſtrious men to dye quickely: great Vertue and long Life ſeldome meetes together. Life is meaſured by the End; ſo that it bee good, all the reſt hath its proportion; quantitie auayleth nothing, to make it more or leſſe happy; a little Circle is as round as a great, it is Figure doth all. Yet you will ſay, one would wiſh to die quietly in his bed, amongſt

mongſt his owne people, comforting them, and receiuing comfort from them againe. It is a pittifull thing to bee killed in a Corner, and be depriued of decent Funerals. So many men that goe to the wars, and take Poſt to bee preſent at a Battell, are not of this Opinion. They are going to die all aliue, and burie themſelues among their enemies. Little children feare masked men; vncouer their faces, they feare them no more: Euen ſo beleeue mee, Sword and the flames of Fire terrifie vs in the manner as we imagine them; take off the maske, the Death wherewith they threaten vs, is the very ſame whereof women and little children die. But I ſhall leaue behinde little children without helpe or aſſiſtance: as if thoſe children belonged more vnto you, then vnto God; as if you loued them more then he, which is the firſt and trueſt Father, or as if you had more meanes to keepe them ſafe then hee. No, no, they ſhall haue the common Father of all the world, that ſhall watch ouer them, and preſerue them vnder the wings of his fauour, as he doth all his creatures from the greateſt to the leaſt.

Euils then are neuer ſo great, as our Ambitious Opinion ſetteth them foorth vnto vs; ſhee doth fright vs by her guile: But ſhee doth altogether marre and corrupt vs, when as ſhee ſtriues to perſwade vs, that in ſuch occaſions we muſt grieue and pine our ſelues. Certainely, if the ſorrow it bringeth had nothing worſe then the deformitie wherewithall it is accompanyed, wee ought to flye from it with might and maine. Obſerue it, as ſoone as ſhee getteth into vs, ſhee filleth vs with ſuch

a ſhame, wee dare not ſhew our ſelues openly, nor ſo much as in priuate to our friends; after we are once ſeized on by this paſſion, we ſeeke nothing but an odde corner to lye dreaming in, and ſhun the ſight of men: we will haue no witneſſes to our actions, the ſight of our friends is troubleſome to vs; what is the meaning of this, but onely that ſhe condemneth her ſelfe, and doth acknowledge how vncomely ſhe is? would not you thinke ſhe were a woman that had been catcht in the act, that hideth and concealeth her ſelfe, and is afraid to be knowne? or *Terentius* his *Chærea*, that hauing attired himſelfe like an Eunuch, to performe a peece of knauerie, is ouertakē in the midſt of the ſtreet or in a ſtrange houſe? It is indeed to apparell men like Eunuchs; yea, geld thē altogether, as to ſuffer them to fall into that ſorrow which bereaueth them of whatſoeuer they haue manly and generous, and giueth vs all the countenances and infirmities of women. So the *Thracians* put men that mourned into womens apparell, either to make them aſhamed of themſelues, or to cauſe them to giue ouer quickly ſuch vncomely and effeminate behauior. But what need was there of ſuch clothes for that? for it ſeemes to me their countenances and their actions might haue been a ſufficient token to ſhew they were no more men. It was in my opinion a publike diſgrace, the Lawes inflicted vpon them for their puſillanimitie, a ſummons to remember themſelues, and put on againe their manly courage. The Roman Lawes, that were more generous, haue not ſought remedies by diſgrace againſt theſe effeminate lamentations: for they haue vtterly prohibited them,

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by their firſt and pureſt ordinances. They deemed not the death of either father, mother, children, kinſmen, or friends, a ſufficient cauſe that we ſhould vnnaturalize our ſelues, and commit any thing againſt manlineſſe. They haue tolerated the firſt teares, that are wreſted by a new and freſh ſorrow: Thoſe teares, I ſay, that may fall euen from the eyes of Phyloſophers; and which with humanitie maintaine dignitie; which may fall from our eyes, without Vertue falling from our hearts. Such were thoſe, as I thinke, trickled along the cheekes of faire *Panthea*, when as *Araſpes* fell in loue with her, becauſe he had ſeene her to his great liking weepe very tenderly and pittifully for her husbands death. For the firſt violent brunt of ſorrow, raiſeth in vs ſuch liuely paſſions, that they ſlip eaſily into the minde of thoſe that look vpon vs, and fill them with a like ardour. But this inueterate ſorrow, that hath pierced vnto the very Marrow of our Bones, withereth our face, & diſturbeth our Soule, ſo that there remaineth nothing in vs, that is louely and graceſull. And if Nature hath diſpoſed of any thing comely in either our Body or in our Soule, it is faded by this bitter paſſion, as the beautie of a Pearle is diſſolued in Vineger.

It is great pitty then to ſee vs, we walke with our head hanging downe, and our eyes fixed on the ground, our mouth without euer a word, our limmes without motion, and our eyes are in no ſtead but to weepe: you would deeme vs to be but ſweating ſtatues; it is not without cauſe the Poets haue recorded, *Niobe* was turned into an image of ſtone with

ouer-much weeping. Their intention was not onely thereby, as an Ancient hath thought, to represent to vs the silence shee kept in her mourning; but also teach vs, she had lost all manner of feeling, by giuing her selfe ouer to sorrow. We ought then to auoyde it, were it but for that it is so vnbeseeming and dishonourable.

Furthermore, it is strangely hurtfull, and so much the more infects vs vnder colour of doing good; she maketh, as if she did hasten to helpe vs, and contrariwise she doth offend vs; she seemeth to pull the Iron from the wound, and shee driueth it into the very heart; shee doth promise vs Physicke, and she giueth vs Poyson; her Blowes are so much the harder to put by, and her Attempts too crosse, because she is an enemy fed and brought vp with vs, so that we haue bred our selues to our owne mischiefe. It was she, in my opinion, the Comicall Greeke spoke of, when as he cryed out against men: O poore people, how many euils doe you wittingly endure besides those needfull Nature sendeth vnto you? for who can wee complaine of, but of our selues, when after the feeling of euils past, wee retaine still their griefe, and opinionate our selues to ruminate and continually bring them into our memory; or that for feare of time to come, we faint for want of spirit and courage? Doth not this euill befall to vs from our selues? whereof we ought not to wonder, that it is so lasting, seeing it is like Riuers which come from the Sea, and returne into it, and fetching their spring from the same place they runne into, are neuer dryed vp. Poore fooles! why do we so carefully

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water this plant, that beareth such bitter fruite? Can we finde any good taste in these moanes, griefes, sorrowes, sighes, wherewithall she pestereth our life, and poysoneth all our actions? for as long as shee dwelleth with vs, what doe we doe worthy the name of men? when doe wee thinke of doing seruice to our countrey, or performing the dutie of good Subiects, to oppose our selues against the factions of the wicked, to defend the Lawes from the assaults of Ambition and Couetousnesse, to protect our friendes from the oppression of the malicious? what respite haue we from this importunate passion, to lift vp our eyes to heauen, and with a pure spirit giue thankes vnto that great and soueraigne God, that hath placed vs here in this world, and bestowed vpon vs so many blessings and fauours, that if wee had nothing else to doe but to giue him prayse, yet wee should not haue halfe time enough to giue him his due? Truely shee cannot bee excused: she is either very vndiscreet, or very malicious; either her end is bad, or else she erreth and strayeth from her end.

If it be her drift to encrease our euils, and that the more she seizeth on vs, the heauier & more distastful she makes our life: why do not we put her backe at her first entrance? why doe not wee shut her out of doores? or at least, why doe not we driue her away by the head and shoulders, as soone as we know her designe? wee are traytors to our owne rest, if being acquainted with its enemies, if hauing notice of those do disturbe it, we receiue them, and vphold them, and cherish them. If it be her end to ease our

sorrow,

ſorrow, to qualifie and ſoake it in our teares, Why ſhould we imploy ſo long, ſo bad and raſh an Officer that doth what is cleane contrarie to her intent? Who did euer ſee her attaine vnto it? What Mind did ſhe euer enter, that ſhe hath comforted? But contrariwiſe, if ſhe found it quaking, hath ſhe not quite ouerthrowne it? If vpon falling, ouerwhelmed it? There commeth not one out of her Clawes, but ſpoyled, maymed, and bruized. When ſhe hath gone ouer it, ſhe leaueth behinde neither ſtrength, nor reſiſtance, and becommeth like vnto a deepe and hollow place, which is not onely defyled with the filth that groweth in it, but on all ſides, Sinckes and Gutters run into it, ſo that pure Water is corrupted therein. For a mā poſſeſſed with Sorrow, is offended with his owne Euils and other mens both, with publique and priuate: euen good fortunes befalling him, doe diſpleaſe him. All things waxe tart in his Mind, as meat doth in a deboſhed Stomake. But beſides all this, I ſay that Sorrow comming vpon ſuch an occaſion, as it doth to you, is verie vniuſt, and I dare almoſt call it impious. For what is it, but a raſh and outragious complaint againſt Nature and the Common Law of the World?

The firſt voyce which is pronounced by Nature, is that all things which are vnder the Circle of the Moone muſt periſh, and as they haue had a beginning, ſo ſhall they haue an end. You would free your Citie from it as by a Priuiledge, and make it Immortall. Kingdomes, States, and Townes are of the ſame condition the other parts of the World are of, nay, their being is more vncertaine and weaker. For moſt other

other things haue their forme, which vniteth their members ſo ſtraite and ſo ſtrong with one only knot, that they can hardly be ſeuered: but States and Cities are compoſed of ſo many different things one from another, which are knit and gathered together onely by the will and conſent of men, mooued to a communion and ſociety, by ſome Celeſtiall inclination. And that will and conſent being ſubiect to wauer, the ruine of Townes is ſtill at hand, and almoſt preſent: for from the ſtirring and motion of that conſent, ſprings warres, and ſeditions, which bring them to their end. But though no diſeaſes doe befall them, that is to ſay, violent miſchances, wherewithall moſt commonly they periſh; yet age muſt make an end of them by the Common Law of the World, for they haue their Youth, their virility, their Olde age, like men; and though all the reſt of their age hath been ſtrong and ſound, yet Age muſt conſume them. Now if we haue fore-ſeene this, why are we vexed at it? If we haue not fore-ſeene it, what doe we complaine of, but of our imprudencie? The condition of Nature is very hard and wretched, if ſhe muſt beare the blame & wrong of all ſuch things as are vnknowne to vs, when they come to paſſe. Is it her fault we know them not? Hath ſhe concealed it from vs? Is there euer a nooke in the World where ſhe hath not ſet it in writing? It is wonderfull that we are more iuſt and righteous to euery one then to Nature, which neuertheleſſe is more gratious and fauourable to vs then all the reſt. If we had hyred a Houſe, and the Owner were in mind to pull it down becauſe it were olde, and muſt build it vp againe, or

that he would apply it to his owne vſe: we would go forth willingly, and ſeeke for another without any more adoe. Why? it is the Common Law that ſuffereth him to make vſe of his owne in this faſhion. Would you know who be thoſe which doe grieue when they muſt remooue, that complaine, and vexe themſelues? They be the Children of ſuch as haue Leaſes for many yeeres, becauſe they haue ſeene their Fathers enioy them ſtill, they neuer troubled themſelues to looke into the Titles of their Houſe, they made account the Fee ſimple was theirs, and fed themſelues with that opinion. They paſſed their youth and neuer learned any Trade, neuer vſed to worke, when as they are growen in yeeres, the Leaſe is expired, they muſt prouide themſelues elſe-where. This vnexpected blow aſtoniſheth them, they weepe, they lament, & in ſtead of giuing the Owner thankes for ſuffering them to enioy it ſo long at ſo good a rate, they rayle on him. But we are yet farre vnwiſer, and more vniuſt towards Nature, then they are towards their Land-Lords: For they perchance haue a chargeable Leaſe on it, they haue perhaps payed a great In-come: we are here but Tenants at Will, what we haue, we hold it by intreatie, and onely for a while. They haue forborne to giue them warning vntill ſuch a time the Leaſe was expired: but Nature doth declare to vs euery day the Conditions we liue here vpon.

I pray you tell me, when we come into the World, doe we enter it, or are we brought into it? Doe wee come into it to command, or to ſerue, to giue the Law, or to receiue it? I thinke, you will anſwer me

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in a word, that we come into it, to obey, and follow what we finde alreadie eſtabliſhed. We muſt accommodate our ſelues to Seaſons, Dayes, and Nights, to the temperature of countreys; briefly vnto all that happeneth in the gouernment of the world. Now this Law is milde, kinde, gracious, all that is in it, if we conſider it wel, is meant for our good and fauour. And neuertheleſſe if there were any hard thing in it, the onely way to mitigate neceſſary ſeruitude were to obey voluntary. Ought not wee to thinke, that when we come into the world, we do bargaine with Nature, and binde our ſelues to obſerue the lawes ſhe hath giuen and publiſhed ſo many ages ſince in Cities, Common-wealths, & Kingdomes? As ſhe is wiſe, prouident, and deſirous to preſerue the beautie of her worke, ſhe hath giuen to euery thing as long a continuance as ſhe can; but the vice, and imperfection of the matter, whereof things are created, hath beene the cauſe, that of earthly things, there can be none immortall: and euen of thoſe that are mortall, many laſt not ſo long as their nature requireth, the vice of the matter preuenting the grace of Nature. The remedy ſhe hath prouided for this inconuenience, is a laſting by ſucceſſion ſhee hath giuen vnto things, ſo that looſing one forme, they receiue another, nothing at all being loſt but onely altered: ſhee keepeth the earth in her hands like ſoft Clay, which ſhee kneadeth and mouldeth ouer againe in ſundry faſhions, giuing it a new face, couering the old figure with a freſh one, and by thoſe meanes doth imitate in this world immortalitie, which ſhe could not altogether affoord it.

From thence it is, that Townes, Kingdomes, and Empires, change in this manner, & grow out of one anothers ruines. The Play is altered ſtill, and nothing remaineth ſure and firme but the Stage. What is there more iuſt, ſeeing that ſhe is a common Mother to all men, then for her to deſire to grace all parts of the Earth with a turne of greatneſſe & magnificence, which ſhe hath cauſed to paſſe from place to place? This turne at laſt is come to vs, and we haue ſeene in our dayes, our Countrey ſo plentifully ſtored with Riches, Glory, Wealth, Pleaſure, that we could wiſh for no more. We are now vpon our returne, our good Fortune is fled from vs, as out of a houſe crackt and crazed on all ſides; we haue ſtayd behinde looking for its fall: ſome cry out, ſome gaze vpon it, ſome runne away. What is there ſo much to wonder at? An old man dyeth, an old houſe falleth, what ſhould you cry out for? What is there in it, but what you ſee euery day, and euery where? Fruit doth bloſſome, knot, increaſe, ripen, rot: Hearbes ſpring vp, ſpread forth, wither away: Trees grow, ſtand a while, and afterwards are dryed vp: All liuing Creatures are brought forth, liue, and at laſt dye. Time it-ſelfe, that wrappeth all the World, is in the end wrapped in its owne ruine: As it ſlippeth away, ſo it is conſumed; it rowleth ſoftly ſeaſons one vpon another, and all thoſe that are paſt, are loſt. Of all thoſe changeable things, what would you make conſtant? Of all thoſe mortall things, what would you make immortall? Will you make me wonder? Let me ſee ſomething permanent in this World.

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But I doe you wrong to entertaine you with ſuch groſſe reaſons, you, I ſay, whoſe laborious ſtudie is as the mirrour of Nature, and which may repreſent to your ſelues in an inſtant, and draw from the treaſure of your memory the face of the world, as it hath bin euer ſince its creation. Run, I pray you, ouer it again, and conſider what is become of thoſe great and admirable Citties, builded vp with ſo many yeares labour, beautified with ſo many toyles, enriched with ſo many troubles. Each of them hath had many ages that haue not beene otherwiſe imployed, but to diſpoile the reſt of the world, to furniſh and bedecke them. *Aſia* ſheweth you *Troy* the great, prowd *Babylon*, ſtately *Ieruſalem*; *Africke* ſetteth forth *Thebes* with a hundred gates, mighty *Carthage*, wealthy *Alexandria*; *Europe* repreſenteth vnto you learned *Athens*, triumphing *Conſtantinople*, and *Rome*, the miracle of all Citties, and of all the world. What reaſon do you thinke it were all theſe faire Citties haue ſo flouriſhed, but onely to be ouerthrowne? And why haue they been ouerthrowne ſo often, ſauing that the Deſtinie ſeemed to ſtand out againſt Nature, and vphold the frailtie of humane things? How many times hath euery one of them ſeene their enemies ouerthrow their walles, ſack their houſes, kill their cittizens, and burne their Churches? Their neceſſitie to periſh hath been ſo great, that when they haue wanted forreine enemies to worke their ouerthrow, they haue armed their owne Inhabitants, to execute what was ordained about their end. There is no remedy, that is the Law, you cannot goe againſt it: when wee ſee, or heare of others ruines, that is a fore-iudge-

ment for vs, when our time is come: what happeneth to one, may happen to all; the blow that hitteth the formost, threatneth him that followeth.

Scipio he that ouerthrew *Carthage*, seeing fire in it, which deuoured such infinite richesse and stately buildings, & consumed the mightiest City of *Africa*; moued with compassion for the frailty of humane affaires, fell a weeping for the mischiefe he did, and vttered two verses of *Homer* to this sense.

A fatall day will come wherein Troy so doughty,
With Priam and his subiects shall all be made a booty.

Meaning of *Rome* what the Poet had spoke of *Troy*, but he was farre deceiued in his Prophesie, for how many dayes, and not one alone hath she been made a bootie? how many times sacked? how many times destroyed? how many times burnt? and yet shee hath raised her selfe out of her ashes; and being obstinately bent to withstand her own mischiefe, seemeth to haue tired her ill fortune, that she would not worke her ruine any more. Notwithstanding the common Law teacheth vs, shee must suffer as others haue done, and though shee did escape some ages, yet shall she not escape the end of all, and the firing of the world. *Plato* had much troubled his braines to lay the foundation of his Common-wealth so fast, that she might be permanent and euerlasting: and notwithstanding after you haue granted him all his dreames for true, and you aske him, whether this faire Common-wealth can bee made immortall with all his precepts? hee hath freely acknowledged it could

could not: he, I say, which maintained the world to bee immortall. But being desirous to grace his workes, and flatter his owne conceits, he bringeth in the Muses, discoursing of the continuance of states, and proposeth certaine proportions of numbers, by the obseruation whereof, they might bee kept vp flourishing a long time, and yet auoucheth plainely, that as all States haue their birth, and beginning, so they must haue their end. It is the common Law of Nature to which wee must bow, and follow willingly, least it should dragge vs away with violence: obedience vnto it is sweete, violence full of paine and shame.

In the meane time I vnderstand well enough what you would say, it is as it seemeth wee hasten our selues our owne destruction, and with our hands push forward the end of this poore Kingdome, and doe not stay vntill old age carrieth it away, that it may sweetly, and without striuing, passe from life to death. You deceiue your selfe, those creatures neuer die otherwise, they neuer haue an easie end: for as those which die of diseases, whose causes lay in the sinewes and braines, are troubled with great conuulsions afore they giue vp the Ghost; the like haue Commonwealthes, which commonly come to ruine, because their Lawes, that are as their sinewes, are broken and violated. Now if it bee as they vsually say, that fore-seene blowes amaze not so much, we haue, as it seemeth to me, great occasion to beare more patiently, & with more resolution the fall of our State,

State, ſeeing how long it is ſince it began to ſhake, and the great tokens, and apparent markes wee haue had heretofore of its ruine.

Firſt, it it is very old, and ſo old, that there was neuer any one ſeene to laſt ſo long. To waxe old is to be accuſtomed to die. They vſe to aske commonly of ſuch as are exceeding old, whether they be yet aliue? we ought rather to wonder at their life, then at their death; when they are dead, they ſay, He is gone at laſt, as if they would ſay, He hath held out longer thē one would haue thought. Beſides his age he hath had two hundred yeares ſince, great and irkeſome diſeaſes. The quarrels of *Orleans* and *Burgundy* haue brought him to the brimme of his graue. Being recouered of this great fall, and growne healthy again, he hath liued very looſely vnder *Francis* and *Henrie* the ſecond: in this diſordered and lewd life, he hath gathered many ill humours, and farre worſe conditions. Vnder the youth of our laſt Kings, he is returned to his infancie, and hath wholly altered his complexion; for ſince the faſhions of ſtrangers began to pleaſe vs, ours haue beene ſo depraued and corrupted, that we may ſay long agoe we are no more French-men. There is no part of this State that hath not beene onely ſpoyled, but euen made infamous with exceſſe and ſuperfluitie: for as touching our Nobilitie, which is the chiefeſt pillar of our Kingdome, and that hath raiſed it vnto the greatneſſe we haue ſeene it, and euer maintained the ſame, and vnto which is truly due the glory the French name hath among forreine Nations; they haue omitted no craft and guile to ſpoyle and driue it out

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of heart, and drowne in luxury, ſenſuality, and couetouſneſſe that ancient generoſitie they had hereditary from their fathers, & cauſe them to loſe the loue they owed to the ſafetie of their ſtate. As for the church, which ought to haue bin the mother of piety, the pattern of good manners, the bond of al other orders; they haue diſhonoured & defamed her as much as they can, making the greateſt charges, & prelacies to be the reward of the vileſt, yea fowleſt ſeruices of the Court. So that impietie and ignorance haue in many places ſate them down vpon the throne of holines & truth, & made the order odious by the lewdnes of ſuch as were preferred thereto. The officers of Iuſtice, who alone might in ſome ſort haue kept the reſt in their dutie, if they had bin honeſt & true, as they ought to haue bin, haue ſuffered a maruellous chãge; their principall authority hath bin withdrawne towards the ſoueraign, not to be adminiſtred, but peruerted by courtiers, at their pleaſure that were in fauour. And to crowne ſo many diſorders, and heape vp miſchiefe on vs ouer and ouer, are ſalne out the quarrels about Religion, vpon which occaſion haue been rayſed parties and factions by whomſoeuer it hath pleaſed, which were eaſily entertained by the facilitie and lightneſſe of our people, and by the deuices of our neighbours, which ſought to ſhelter themſelues vnder our ruines. With theſe ſparks hath bin kindled the fire that hath almoſt conſumed vs; euery one hath run to it, not to quench it, but to carry away his ſhare, as out of a generall firing.

Muſt we wonder if an old ſtate dieth of ſuch a diſeaſe? we ought rather to admire if it ſhould recouer it.

Adde vnto this old Propheſies which long agoe were made touching its deſtruction, which to our great griefe haue proued ſo true, that they haue got glory vnto the Art, and credit vnto ſuch people as haue euer beene held for Cheaters: Which teacheth vs, that reuolutions of great States come from aboue and are delared euen afore they come to paſſe. I ſay then, when as that which you feare ſhould happen, it were but an ordinary thing, naturall, & foreſeene; & therefore we ought to beare it patiently, as we doe the viciſſitude of ſeaſons, the alteration of elements, and other changes wee dayly ſee in all parts of the world. And notwithſtanding, I doe not ſay it is a thing muſt come to paſſe vpon neceſſitie, & deſpaire not yet of the well-fare of my poore *Frante*, nor of my poore *Paris*; yea I perſwade my ſelf, that if her end and ruine cannot be auoyded, God will put it off till ſome other ſeaſon: for although the ſignes of this diſeaſe, not onely contagious, but alſo peſtilent and infectious, that hath ſeized on this State, are deadly for the moſt part; neuertheleſſe it ſeemeth Nature now beginneth to helpe her ſelfe, and the noble parts ſhew yet ſome ſtrength and lineſſe to endure the remedies.

The people which ſuffered themſelues to bee carryed away with this ruinous commotion, and by the windes of Feare and Hope; Feare to loſe their Religion, and Hope of ſome eaſe and relieſe: ſee plainely they haue by their mad counſels drawne on the miſchiefes they ſhunned, and put backe the good they expected. Let vs ſuffer the humours to ripen, and you ſhall ſee Nature will worke of her ſelfe, and bring forth

forth wholeſome effects; moreouer the leaders of the people, begin to loſe the hope that moued them to this proiect: that beame of popular fauour, which had rowzed their ſpirits, is paſt like a lightning, and Fortune hath ſhewed ſhe did not fauour them ſo much for their good, as for our miſchiefe. They ſee more, and ſee it euidently, that ſtrangers, with whom they made account to vnder-proppe their greatnes, wiſh for nothing ſo earneſtly, as for their ruine, and borrow their armes, onely to make vſe of them, to doe their worke, hauing reſolued not to doe them any other fauour, but what the *Cyclope* of *Homer* promiſed to *Vlyſſes*, which was to eate him vp laſt of all. Doe you thinke them ſo vnwiſe to their owne good, and ſo vnnaturall to their owne countrey, ſo ingratefull to the people, who haue loued them ſo well, that ſeeing things in this caſe, they chuſe not rather to make *France* beholden to them, reſtoring peace, and reſt vnto her, and keeping ſtill thoſe great and honorable titles, which they may haue; then to make their name and memory odious for euer, caſting themſelues vnder the ſhamefull bondage of an ambitious *Spaniard*, and tumble downe headlong with them ſuch as haue put their life and ſafetie in truſt vpon their fidelitie? No, I will neuer beleeue they intend to ſtaine their reputation with ſo baſe an action, and therefore I hope they will bend themſelues vnto the wiſhes of the people, that inuite them to quietneſſe: if they doe it, what ſhould not wee hope for? and when they doe it, what ſhould wee deſpaire of? ſeeing that God hath brought foorth in our dayes, and iuſt vpon the nicke of this fatall commotion, a

Prince to ſucceed this crowne, onely in the world able to raiſe vp, either by peace or warre, the burthen of this decaying State. For peace he hath the name of that Great and Royall familie of Saint *Lewes*, which calleth backe to his obedience all the Subiects of this Kingdome, which cannot hope to bee gouerned by a happier auſpice, then of the Race of that great King, that hath raiſed vp to heauen our French Scepter, and hath lifted himſelfe on high by his pietie, to bee as the Guardian and Tutelarie Saint of this State. Hee hath a naturall goodneſſe and clemency, that reacheth euen to extremitie, and would make him to be ſuſpected of negligence, if his valour and generoſitie, which appeareth in all the parts of his life, did not blot out this ſuſpition. For though his Fortune, more croſſed then any Princes of his time, hath brought him foorth amidſt ciuill armes, and amongſt iniuries, you cannot marke one onely example of Reuenge; being ſo farre from doing it, that hee hath not ſo much as ſought for it, thinking himſelfe to be ſufficiently reuenged, in deſpiſing his enemies, and taking away from them the meanes to doe harme: ſo that he hath made it doubtfull, whether it bee more happy for him to ouercome his enemies, or for them to be vanquiſhed by him.

Now, if with all this, God that keepeth the hearts of Kings in his hand, doe diſpoſe his, to that which is yet neceſſarie for the perfect vnion of his Subiects, and to that end conuerteth him to the Catholicke Faith, and Religion of the Kings his predeceſſours; who can hinder

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our happineſſe and repoſe? Now wee haue great reaſon to hope well of it, as they report of the nature of this Prince, who is very capable of reaſon, and eaſie to bee perſwaded vnto that, which they make appeare to him to bee fit to bee done. Wee know what hee hath promiſed about it to all his Nobilitie, hee hath bin euer commended to bee a faithfull Prince, and who neuer breakes his word; I aſſure my ſelfe, in the end wee ſhall haue what wee ought to deſire at his hands in this reſpect, and by thoſe meanes ſhall beate downe the armes of ſuch, who proteſt to haue taken them onely for this occaſion. If notwithſtanding the obſtinacie of thoſe, who ſeeke their greatneſſe in publike ruines, doth inforce him to trie out by the edge of the ſword, what the edge of reaſon ought to decide; who could ſucceede to this State more ſufficient to ſettle the Kingdome anew againe, and couer vnder the ſhaddow of his buckler this poore crowne, aſſau'ted on all ſides? God hath giuen him a heart full of valour, and inuincible courage in aduerſitie; and leſt his courage ſhould bee ſlackened with ouer-much reſt, hee hath exerciſed him from his childe-hood in continuall trauels and dangers, with ſuch Fortune, that ſo many hazardous paſſages haue beene to him in ſtead of a Schoole of Vertue, and a Harueſt of Glory, and ſeemeth certainely, ſeeing the progreſſe of his Fortune, that ſhe hath on purpoſe raiſed this warre, and called to it ſo many ſeuerall nations, to behold the ſpectacle of an extreame valour, and an

extreme good fortune. No, no, beleeue it, you neuer obſerued in the ſucceſſion of times and courſe of ages, that States are ouerthrowne, when God ſendeth ſuch Princes to command them. They haue perhaps beene ſhrewdly ſhaken and toſſed, but afterwards, they haue ſetled themſelues againe by the vertue of ſuch Commanders; ſo that I preſume, that the motion and change we feele, is not for the extirpation of the State, but onely an inciſion that is made with a painefull and rough inſtrument; and in lieu of the branch God hath cut off, hee will put on a graft vpon the royall ſtocke. And therefore I hope God will finde, when we looke leaſt for it, ſome conuenient meanes to ſaue vs all, and ſpecially this faire and famous Cittie, wherein there is a number of men, which call vpon him with a pure heart.

Neuertheleſſe, if it ſhould fall out otherwiſe, wee muſt take it patiently: for ſuch great accidents happening by the eternall prouidence, it is no more lawful then poſſible to oppoſe our ſelues againſt thē, & ſay further, that it is neither iuſt, nor profitable to be vexed for them; being moſt certain, that whatſoeuer is ordained by that ſoueraigne Hand, is for our good and his glory. But ſince it is ſupper time, and that this diſcourſe may be better continued by thoſe that hearken to me, then by my ſelfe, I wil leaue it to them, ſeeing our miſerie is common, that they may affoord ſomething to our common comfort.

There *Muſæus* ended, and we roſe with a more ſetled minde then wee ſate downe. This is not all, quoth I, *Muſæus*: ſeeing you diſcharge your ſelfe from proſecuting the diſcourſe you haue began,

you

you muſt chooſe ſome one that will finiſh it. Wherupon he kiſſing a withered poſie that he held in his hand, preſented it to *Orpheus*, I giue it you, quoth he, againſt to morrow: I accept, anſwered *Orpheus*, the poſie, but not the charge to come vpon the ſtage after *Roſcius* as the Prouerbe is. And ſo wee parted with a mutuall promiſe to meete there againe the next day at the ſame houre.

The end of the firſt Booke.

BRITISH
6 AU 89
MUSEUM

ORPHEVS:

OR

THE SECOND BOOKE OF CONSTANCIE.

LONDON,
Printed by *Bernard Alsop.* 1622.

BRITISH MUSEUM

TO THE RIGHT HONOVRABLE, AND All-praiſe-worthy, the Lord BARCKLEY.

YOur Lordſhips very name (were there nothing elſe that did induce me) might be argument enough to make me dedicate this, and with it my owne ſelfe alſo to your Lordſhips ſeruice: but when by the world (which ſeldome gines Vertue her due) is added to your Lordſhip ſuch perfections, as made the Heroes in former times ſo farre ſurmount the ranke of ordinary men; euer knowing Vertue to be truly Noble: I could not chuſe but alſo inueſt your Lordſhip in theſe titles, from whence thoſe famous men thought themſelues to haue reapt no ſmall honor: and that was in patronizing ſtudious endeauors. which intereſt in you, if it may ſeeme rather to be by me vſurped, then iuſtly challenged, or rightly deſerued; blame therein not my preſumption, but rather your Lordſhips vertuous fame, that imboldened me ſo farre as to preſent ſo ſmall a thing vnto your view: which if you vouchſafe to looke vpon with a gracious eye, I ſhall thinke my ſelfe bound for euer to remaine

Your Lordſhips moſt
humble ſeruant,

ANDREVV COVRT.

ORPHEVS,
OR
THE SECOND BOOKE OF CONSTANCY.

THE next Day, presently after dinner, there was an Allarum beaten in the towne,& because we were all foure of one quarter, wee met together in the Court of Guard: there we gazed one vpon another, speaking with our eyes and faces, & saying to our selues; what pittie is this, we must stand armed against our owne good, and driue in a manner our good fortune from vs? for what good man is there, who doth not wish, euen with the sacking of the towne, rather to get out of this extreme misery,& deliuer the kingdome from it, then to sacrifice our liues thus to the rage and fury of a small number of seditious, who desire to satisfie their cruelty and couetousnesse, with our anguish & pouertie? What fatall sluggishnesse is this, that all this people, or at least, most of those we see armed here, know their euils, and wish for its remedy,& may haue it if they will, and notwithstanding haue not the heart so much as to complaine, and maintaine those who shew them the way how to saue themselues? so far hath this poyson of sedition seuered their wils, & the feare which the wicked haue printed in the hearts of simple people, hath frozen their blood, and stifled their spirits. Now being come neere one to another:

Well quoth I, our meeting is put off, as farre as I ſee we are like to want ſuch a ſweet afternoone as we had yeſterday. Neuertheleſſe, this ſhall not excuſe you of that you owe vs, rather the forbearance ſhall encreaſe the debt, for as you ſee our euils waxe great, ſo your reaſons muſt be ſtronger. I feare much, quoth he, this day wil ſcatter vs, & depriue vs perhaps for euer of ſo ſweet & delightſome a fellowſhip. I can aſſure you that if death had taken me away yeſterday when I came from you, ſhe had found me very content, and had finiſhed my life to my liking. For I confeſſe that the diſcourſe of *Muſæus* ſo aſſwaged my griefe, and ſo ſetled my minde by the weight of his reaſons, and by the ſweetneſſe of his words, that I could wiſh to be ſad euery day, if I were ſure to be alwayes ſo well cheered vp.

It is a happy diſeaſe that is cured with pleaſure: oh how earneſtly did I deſire he ſhould haue continued his ſpeech, yea vpon condition I had loſt my ſupper, nay vpon condition that I had not ſupped all the yeere. Such diſcourſes are nothing elſe but *Nectar* & *Ambroſia*: it is meat more neceſſary this day to the mind, then bread & wine to the body; it is both nouriſhment & phyſicke. I ſweare to you, when I heard him, me thought that the faire *Helena* of *Homer*, with the ſame hand wherewithall ſhee ſtole the hearts of the *Greekes* and *Troians*, powred into my mouth that ſweet and gracious *Nepenthes*, which lulled aſleepe the ſorrow of the afflicted, & reſtored thē their courage. He hath, quoth I, turned ouer his charge into a good hand: I hope what hee hath beganne well, you will finiſh it farre better. Thereupon it was told

told vs that the noyse was past, and we might retire. Then I tooke them all three by the cloake: you must come, said I, where you promised yesterday; it is lawfull for armed men to right themselues: if the Roman law permitted to draw into Iudgement those who refused to goe; how much more the right of armes? Wee will not goe onely, quoth *Linus*, wee will runne thither. After wee were come in, and had put off our armes, and walked a turne in the garden, to gather our spirits; I pray you quoth I, let vs take our places againe, and let vs prouide for rest, and quietnesse, for in my opinion wee shall haue time enough to stand. And since that it belongs to you, Signior *Orpheus*, to continue this discourse, looke for no more intreaties, and vse no excuses, for in a word we will not receiue them; after some such summons *Orpheus* began thus:

It is indeed the greatest, and surest comfort man can receiue, and take in publike, and priuate calamities, to perswade himselfe, that whatsoeuer befalleth him is ordained by that eternall power, distributed by that infinite wisedome, which gouerneth the world with the same goodnesse and Iustice wherewithall hee created it. When this opinion is once rooted in the heart of man, I doe not see what windes can shake his constancie: For as much as wee ought to beleeue, there commeth nothing from that kinde, and gracious hand, but what is intended for our good. Now although this Prouidence (which wee may define to bee the perpetuall care God hath in the gouernement of all that Hee hath created) doth shine continually

ally in all the parts of the world, and appeareth in wonderfull effects; neuertheleſſe, moſt men turne their eyes, and looke awrie vpon it, ſtriuing to deceiue themſelues, to the end they may not bee beholden vnto that wiſe miſtreſſe, who ruleth the birth, and conſerueth whatſoeuer is ſeene in this Vniuerſe. There hath bin truelie verie few, that durſt bee ſo impious as flatly to denie it; but if there hath bin any, I will forget their names, and being ſo vnworthy, I will ſuppoſe they neuer were. There are a number indeed, whoſe opinions I haue heard, but alwaies reiected, which acknowledging diuine wiſedome, and power in the firſt creation of the world, haue taken the gouernement thereof from it, after it hath bin created; ſome attributing it vnto that order, which they call Nature; ſome to a fatall neceſſitie, ſome others vnto Chance, and Fortune, wherein they ſeeme rather to haue changed the name, then the power of diuine prouidence: for in expounding their opinion, they plainely declare, that in all worldly accidents, they acknowledge ſome Entitie, that is great, and diuine, the nature whereof is incomprehenſible; and neuertheleſſe, by I know not what careleſſe preſumption, they would haue that little which they vnderſtand of it, to paſſe currant for ſound doctrine, and a part for the whole, chooſing rather to miſtake Prouidence, then acknowledge their ignorance.

It falleth out with them, as it might doe with three ſeuerall perſons, which comming three ſeuerall wayes, ſhould ſee a farre off, a great pyramide of Marble,

Marble, ſuch a one as you might imagine that of the kings of Egypt, carued on three ſides with many Characters and hieroglyphicall letters; euery one marking at firſt that face which is on his ſide, and comming no nearer iudgeth there is no more but that, and goeth backe with an opinion he hath ſeen all; ſo all of them report ſundry tales of one and the ſelfe ſame thing, each of them maintaining it to bee as he had ſeen it on his ſide. But had they approched nearer, and walked round about it, then euery one of them ſhould haue ſeene all the three faces, and haue knowne that all three make but one body; would haue beene well enformed of the thing, and would agree all together in it. When theſe men are come to contemplate that Soueraigne power, which conducteth and gouerneth this Vniuerſe, and that they haue conſidered it in its effects, euery one of them hath had enough to behold it a farre off, and apprehend as much as the firſt ſight affoorded him.

He that obſerued an order and continuall courſe of regular cauſes, which are brought forth one of another, hath called it Nature, and hath beleeued this Nature did all. He that had ſeene many things come to paſſe, which had beene fore-ſeene and fore-told, and neuertheleſſe could not be auoyded, hath called the power that produced them Deſtinie, and fatall neceſſitie, and deemed all to depend from thence. The other that had ſeene an infinite number of caſualties, whereof they could giue him no reaſon, and which ſeemed to happen without cauſe, hath named the power from whence ſuch euents did proceede Fortune, and hath eſteemed all things to be managed

on this fashion. But if euery one of them had taken the paines to approch neerer vnto truth, and report publikely what he had seene in priuate, perhaps they might haue knowne truly, what was the figure of that first and soueraigne power, from whence are deriued all the things, and all the accidents of the world, and vnderstand, that in this Nature, in this Destinie, in this Fortune, gathered all together, shineth through humane ignorance, that wise and excellent diuine Prouidence, known neuertheles more according to the proportion of our weake vnderstanding, then according to her incomprehensible greatnesse and Maiestie.

For I doubt not, but in the Creation of this Vniuerse, God hath established a rule and a certaine Law, whereby all things must be produced, disposed of, and maintained, which if any one will call Nature, I will not gainesay, so that he makes not of it an Essence separated from God: vnto the which hee should thinke hee had committed the gouernment of things created to set himselfe on rest. Contrariwise, this Nature can bee nothing else but the first Power and Vertue, which from the beginning, without any separation from him, hath printed it selfe in the matter, and hath giuen vnto it that regular motion by the which things are maintained in their being, and bring foorth their effects besides. Which Power and Facultie is by him from day to day, and houre to houre, and moment to moment inspired in the world: which as it preserueth it, so it doth create it anew againe, and repaire it still, and euery day makes it vp as it was made in the beginning. In

such

ſuch ſort that it ſeemeth, God hath built it oneſy as a ſhop for him to worke in perpetually, and keepe ſtill in action his infinite goodnes, which cannot endure but it muſt communicate itſelfe vnto men. True it is, that like a great Architect he hath many workefolks vnder him, which he doth imploy about this great gouernment, not ſo much for any need he hath thereof, as for the ornament of this ſtately worke-houſe, the gracing of its brightnes and magnificence, to impart vnto his creatures one of his moſt high, & ſoueraigne faculties, & cauſe them to produce, & create in a manner ſomething as well as he. And therefore throgh an admirable wiſdom, he hath left ſome part of theſe low & terreſtriall things imperfect in ſome kind, to ſerue vnto man as matter & ſubiect to work vpon, & hath forthwith giuen him the art to adapt & apply them. He hath giuen him ſtones, & hath not giuen him buildings, but the art to make them; hee hath giuen him mines, and hath not giuen him mony, but the art to make it: he hath giuen him corne, and hath not giuen him bread, but the art to make it: he hath giuen him wooll, and hath not giuen him cloth, but the art to make it.

To be ſhort, it ſeemeth that after hee had created man vnto his likeneſſe, he hath ſhared with him the honour of the Creation of things, yea euen of the Creation of man himſelfe, his will and pleaſure being he ſhould co-operate with him in the generation of his poſteritie: and that as hee, Soueraigne and chiefeſt Creator, had made the ſoule in his image; ſo man as an aſſociate to his glory, ſhould make in the generation another body like vnto his:

And though God hath kept to himselfe the creation of the soule of man, as of a great Master peece, which cannot be wrought but with his owne hand; yet in that he hath also called man euen as to his helpe, hauing granted him the institution, discipline, and polishing of it, that hee might bragge in a manner to haue affoorded something to his owne perfection. But you must neither say nor think, that the authority hé hath giuen vnto creatures, doth lessen his in any thing: he doth not rely vpon their care, neither doth he rest vpon their vigilancie: contrariwise, the greater power he hath giuen them, so much the greater need hath he to watch ouer them; and the more labourers hee hath at worke, so much more necessary it is he should haue, not onely the Eye, but also the Hand ouer them, to amend what they doe amisse, & contrary to the perfect patterne hee hath proposed vnto them, and to guide and direct them in their workes, which cannot any wayes stand nor last without his helpe and assistance. This will I then say, that what great faculties soeuer wee obserue in second causes, we ought not to thinke for all this that the first is idle, and that the others doe any thing but by his direction: and farre lesse beleeue, that this order and continuance wee see in all things, is the chiefest and vniuersall cause thereof, seeing it is but the effect; no more then in Musicke the melodie is not the cause, but the effect of concords, produced by the Musitian his skill and art, who gathereth the sounds, and ordereth them into good consonance.

Now as it is Prouidence, which by this regular order that is called Nature, bringeth forth and maintaineth

taineth euery particular thing, according to the generall Law that is appointed for euery one of the ſame kinde; ſo it is ſhe which beſides this regular order called Nature, giueth ſometimes vnto worldly things qualities, and intermingleth accidents, which one while are different, another while contrary to their nature, and then doth bring about the meeting of things amongſt them, to make them bring foorth the effect ſhe hath ordained: ſo that knitting and gathering vp many different cauſes, ſhe draweth from the connexion and weauing thereof, not the ende that is natural, or propounded to euery one of them, but an euent preſcribed by her ſelfe. Inſomuch, that as Nature is ſeene, eſpecially in the creation, production, and maintenance of euery thing in it ſelfe, according to its kinde, and condition, and by an ordinary rule, and euer alike: Deſtinie contrariwiſe appeareth in euents which proceede from the meeting of theſe things already created; which being ordered by a rule vnknown to men, produce fore-ordaind effects which ſeeme ineuitable, and do not concerne, nor accõmodate themſelues ſo much to the nature of euery particular thing as vnto that of the Vniuerſe.

Certainly it ſhould ſeeme that this Law had not bin needfull in the world, if euery thing had kept the firſt motiõ God had giuen vnto it at its creation: for hauing infuſed in euery one the moſt perfect forme and principle of working that could be deſired; it followed, that if they had continued in that condition, their owne Nature had of her ſelfe directed their actions to good effects one towards another, and conſequently to the good of all the world, and glory of

the Creator. But either throgh the vice & imbecillity of the matter, or through the tẽdernes of their forme, which could not ſubſiſt, without they ſhould adhere perpetually vnto their Creator, they haue beene diſfigured, and ſtrayed from the way which Nature had traced out vnto them.

For example, Angels and men were created as the moſt perfect and abſolute peeces of the world, and God in the Creation had infuſed in them a liuely and pure light, to direct their actions to make good vſe of worldly things: and conſequently to bring foorth workes to his glory. But as it falleth out vſually in great Buildings, that a rich Waineſcot, or an artificiall winding Staire wrought with great skill, will ſooneſt decay; becauſe that the more excellent a peece of worke is, ſo much the weaker it is: ſo thoſe moſt perfect creatures haue firſt of all declined from the right way, peruerted and violated the end of their Creation. Which diſorder did not remaine onely in them, but for the great power wherewithall they were created, they haue cauſed it to ſlip into the things they had abuſed. And moreouer it ſeemes, that by their fault other things that were created for them, were preſently changed, either by a ſecret conſent, or by a ſecret iudgement to ſerue for their puniſhment. Therefore it hath beene needful that this All-ſeeing-eye, which pierceth through ages as the Sunne through the Aire, hauing from the beginning foreſeene this confuſion, ſhould euen from that time appoint a remedy, to ſtay the preſumptiõ both of mẽ and Angels, and let them, leaſt they ſhould ſtretch

their

their ill actions as farre as their ill wills.

The remedie hath beene this inuiolable Law, by the which he hath prouided for all euents, and hath ordained that things ſhould happen as we ſee them fall out; not altogether after the ordinary power of cauſes, but as it pleaſeth God to make them worke, ſometimes increaſing, ſometimes leſſening their ſtrength: and now and then cauſeth them to worke againſt their nature; and bringeth backe to his will what men thinke to doe at theirs. But ſome one will ſay, that this Law ſeemes to be contrary to the firſt; God being immutable in his eſſence, ſhould be ſo likewiſe in his determinations. Ought wee to thinke, that hee, who knoweth all things from all Eternitie, taketh new reſolutions? The alteration that is in this, is not in God, but in his workes; which being ſeparated from him, who is vnchangeable alone, could not be like vnto him, but ſubiect to decay, and waſte away by the defect of the matter whereof they are made. And the remedy God hath brought vnto the euill, is not a new aduice, though it bee put in vſe ſince the corruption of Nature, neuertheleſſe it was reſolued vpon euen before her creation.

For as a worke-man that ſets a Clocke to goe foure and twentie houres, before he taketh vp the weights, and ſetteth it on going, can fore-ſee, that either ruſt wil ſtay its courſe, or that ſome idle fellow will ſtirre the needle, touch the wheeles, or remoue the ballance; & euen then prouides whatſoeuer is neceſſary to ſet it in order again, & reſtore it to the firſt point: ſo God, that hath foreſeene euen before the

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Creation of the world, what would fall out in the gouernment and maintenance thereof, did in the ſame inſtant appoint remedies for it: which though they come not to our ſight but after a long time and ſucceſſion of ages, yet they were prepared from all eternitie. For as the Poet muſt haue his Play in a readineſſe afore any body comes vpon the Stage; and that as ſoone as the Prologue begins, he that is to play the laſt Act muſt know well his Quew: euen ſo fareth it with all the things that are come to paſſe, and that ſhall happen hereafter during ſo many yeeres in this world; whereof the laſt that muſt finiſh the age of the world, was knowne, and ordained by the Creator, afore the firſt began to be. It is that, as I thinke, *Diarchas* in *Philoſtratus* would intimate, when hee ſayd God had begot the world all at once, as the Beaſts do their yong ones: notwithſtãding that he hath brought it forth by little and little as they doe, cauſing one part to come out firſt, and the other after. It is not Time that is the father and authour of things, hee is but their Steward, and as *Tatian* ſhewed vnto the Greekes, the Diſpencer that bringeth them vpon the Stage.

Yea but ſome will ſay, If things were ordained from all eternitie; and that this decree cannot be violated: what will become of the libertie of our Will? muſt it not be a Bond-ſlaue vnto this Law, and bee ſuch, or ſuch, good or bad, according as it hath appointed? No: for this Deſtinie that hath fore-ordained all things, hath decreed that our Will ſhall bee free; ſo that if there bee any neceſſitie in our will, it is this, that it is neceſſarily free. And as for that our

Wills

Wills haue beene foreſeene ſuch as they ſhall bee, they haue beene foreſeene, becauſe they ſhall be ſo: and are not ſo, becauſe they haue beene foreſeene. But another will ſay: What auaileth our will, ſeeing that of ſuch things as wee would haue to be done, there comes nothing to paſſe but what God hath ordained, and there is almoſt nothing in our power? We cannot almoſt deſire any thing, how eaſie ſoeuer it bee, if it were but in a manner to carry our hand to our mouth, that may not be hindered by an infinit number of chances: it is that which the Prouerb ſaith, There falleth out many things betweene the Belly and the Lips. Though we can do many things that we will, and will many things that we can do, yet we cannot ſay that any euent how little ſoeuer it be, depends wholly vpon vs.

Notwithſtanding, our Will remaineth free, becauſe it is not the action, but the motion vnto action, and ſerueth vs neuertheleſſe: becauſe that althogh it be not the onely cauſe, yet it co-operates with the reſt, which are gathered and bound by Deſtinie into the ſame knot, to bring forth one onely effect. When it aimeth at the end which it ought, it is backed by Deſtinie, and fauoured by the meeting of other cauſes, and ſo doing it is conducted vnto its owne purpoſe, or at leaſt to another ende, that Prouidence iudgeth to bee good for it. When contrariwiſe it is bent to an ill end, it is by the concurrence of other cauſes, and force of Deſtinie, carryed away to a cleane contrarie end from its owne, but ſtill for one purpoſe; from the which in ſpight of it, God draweth his glory, & the good of the Vniuerſe. For although

Deſtinie moſt commonly changeth nothing in the nature of cauſes; and ſuffereth thoſe that are voluntary, to worke voluntarily; and thoſe that are neceſſary, neceſſarily; and thoſe that are naturall, naturally: neuertheleſſe, from the mingling and gathering of them altogether in the point & forme wherein he cauſeth them to meete, he bringeth foorth ſuch effects as he liſteth, drawing oftentimes from the ſelfe ſame cauſes cleane contrary effects, as by the tranſpoſition of the ſelfe ſame letters wee compoſe words altogether different. He is ſo cunning a worker, that he can apply any thing to doe his pleaſure: yea many times when as wee thinke to withſtand his counſels, ſuffring vs to haue our will, he carrieth vs where he pleaſeth: iuſt like vnto that great Circle in heauen, that inuelopeth all the others; though he letteth not their naturall courſe from Weſt to Eaſt, neuertheleſſe he draggeth them all euery day along with him from Eaſt to Weſt. Whether we run or goe, haſten or ſtay, goe right or wrong, we come ſtill to our lodging with Deſtinie: we cannot auoyd it, we fall vpon it in recoyling from it, we finde it when as we flie from it, we run vpon it thinking to ouer-run it. This Deſtinie comes from too wiſe a power, and too powerfull a wiſedome, to bee reſiſted either by force or craft.

Now ſuch, and how great ſoeuer it be, it is but euen as Nature, one of the effects of that wiſe Prouidence, which filleth & gouerneth all things, & that is ſpred ouer all the parts of the world, being euen as its ſoule. She ruleth all the parts of it with wiſe

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and infallible counsels,& most certain reasons;which often we do not apprehend but very late, and sometimes not at al:either for that her wisdome is so deep & inscrutable, that we cannot penetrate into it ; or that our negligence and stupidity is so great, we doe not vouchsafe to open our eyes to consider it: from whence it coms,that men attribute vnto Fortune the accidents whose causes they comprehend not. And frō thence it is come,that some being grown so brutish,as they obserued no causes of the effects which they saw,they deemed all did happen by chance. So out of their ignorance and brutalitie,they haue made themselues a Goddesse, which they call Fortune,and paint her out blind-fold, turning with a wheele worldly affaires,casting al at randome,and throwing her presents,and fauours by chaunce,as they do new money at the first entrance of Kings into a towne, according as they stand neere,so euery one takes vp, what falls vpon him. But I could wish that those which would make the world to be gouerned so many ages,by this rash, and blind foole, would but suffer her to gouerne their houses for one yeare: they should see fine oeconomie. Sillie people! they perceiue well enough that a small familie cannot subsist a yeare without great prudence: and they would haue this great Vniuerse, composed of many different parts, to subsist so many thousand yeares, vnder the conduct of Chance. They would not haue giuen a flocke of sheepe vnto a Shepheard that were ill sighted: and they would commit vnto a blinde Temeritie,the gouernment of so many legions,both of

Angels and men. O ingratefull kinde of people! why do you ſet vp Altars to your gods, if your ſacrilegious opinions worſhip nothing but Fortune? Why doe you offer ſacrifices after your victories, to giue thankes vnto her, that ſaw you not when ſhe ſaued you, and ſeeth you not, when you giue her thankes? you thinke perhaps that this Hobgoblin hath better eares then eyes. That which filled men with this errour, and compelled them to ſnatch the Rule and the Compaſſe from the hands of Prouidence, to make all things to ruſh at randorne one againſt another, and happen by hazard: it hath beene, in my opinion, for that they would accommodate the greatneſſe and power of God vnto their infirmitie, and that they would acknowledge no higher and deeper Diuinitie, but what the firſt obiect of things offered vnto their ſenſes.

Diuine Prouidence is an abyſme of light, vnto whoſe bottome the wit of man cannot reach, but onely in keeping his eyes fixed vpon it a long time, and yet they muſt gather their ſight into ſome little hole, and guide it as by a leuell, for feare this infinite brightneſſe ſhould dazle it, and put it out. Neuertheleſſe, for to know ſimply that ſhe is, and that there is no Fortune; the leaſt and weakeſt wit of the world may ſuffice. For let vs obſerue neuer ſo little the gouernment of the world, and of the parts thereof, we iudge preſently, that there is nothing in it raſh and aduenturous, except our ignorance and indiſcretion: and yet it is ſo onely to our ſelues, becauſe that euen our temeritie and inconſtancie is certaine vnto Prouidence. There is nothing in the world, how litle

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ſoeuer it be, that can eſcape her: ſhe manageth and guideth all things, ſhe holds them, and keepes them in the very place where they ought to be, as well for their particular, as for the good of the Vniuerſe. Now amongſt all others, there is none in my opinion, ouer which ſhe watcheth ſo carefully, as ouer Empires, and Kingdomes: whereof ſhe is the true mother and protectrix. We ſee euer their off-ſpring and beginning marked in heauen, and let downe into the world by the reuolutiõ of the Stars. We ſee them come to paſſe with ſo ſtrange commotions among nations, that you would ſay, that Earth is in labour, and trauell to bring them forth. They increaſe with ſuch wonderfull accidents, with ſuch memorable ioults, and happy chances, that Diuinitie is not ſeene in any other place to further and aduance more euidently the ſucceſſe of affaires, then in the eſtabliſhing of new States.

Call to minde, I pray you, the comming of the Iewes into *Paleſtine*, and conſider how miraculouſly a company of poore wandering people hath ſubdued ſo many Nations, ouerthrowne ſo many Prouinces, deſtroyed ſo many Cities, to build vp that great and ſtately *Ieruſalem*, and ſet vp that rich and magnificent Temple, wherein alone God would be ſerued and worſhipped for a time.

Come afterwards vnto that obſeruation of *Titus Liuius*, vpon the increaſe of the Romane Empire, comparing vnto *Rome* the Nations wherewith ſhee was compaſſed about in her minority, which were al more potent then ſhe in richeſſe, men, and armes, and in all commodities: hee wondereth ſhe was not

ſtifled a hundred times in her cradle, and that ſhee was ſuffered to grow into that greatneſſe, as much enuied as admired. But God ſeemed to lend her his helping hand to ouercome her enemies, and put (as the Statue of Fortune did vnto *Demetrius*) townes ready taken into her Fiſt. Surely God had choſen that part of the Earth as fatall, to bee the chiefeſt place of the world, to gather vnder this head, *Europe*, *Aſia*, *Africa*, as the members of that Empire. When I conſider alſo the eſtabliſhing of this heretofore ſo braue and flouriſhing kingdome of *France*, whoſe honour and fame hath beene ſpread from Eaſt to Weſt; and that I obſerue with what number of wonderfull chances it hath beene founded, raiſed, and maintained by the ſpace of neere twelue hundred yeeres, and how often it hath been threatned, and ſaued from great and imminent ruines: I thinke it cannot be denyed, but that it is diuine Prouidence which hath kept it, and maintained it vntill now. And to ſpeake truely: Wherein can ſhe more delight, then to ſee a great number of men aſſembled together, liue religiouſly vnder iuſt lawes, as vſually do new-ſetled nations: & obſerue in their order, Politike gouernment, and obedience, the ſame harmony that ſhineth in all the world? Now as this wiſe Prouidence doth diſpoſe of the beginning of Cities and Kingdomes, ſo doth ſhe diſpoſe of their end: ſhe ordaineth nothing but what is iuſt, how can we then complain of her? Conſider, I pray you, the deſtructiõ of all the Monarchies, & of all great Cities: conferre their beginning with their end, and you will deeme their firſt actions worthy to be fauored for their ver-

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tue, furthered in their enterprises by that holy Prouidence; & afterwards you will confesse that their end was iust, and that their wickednesse had euen as it were inforced diuine Iustice to destroy them.

I omit the first Monarchies of the *Persians*, & *Assyrians*, which plunged & drowned themselues at last in delights & pleasures; the Common-wealth of the *Greeks*, that haue bin choaked by ambition & couetousnes: & wil desire you only to turne your eyes towards the ruines of that wofull *Ierusalem*: & consider whether in the time of her destruction, she was not a burthen vnto Earth, and a blemish vnto Heauen; as well for that she was the Theater, whereon impiety did striue against the Sonne of God, as that she was then a sinke full of Villanie and wickednesse. Was not Prouidence seene to proceed by degrees vnto the punishment of this people, whose wicked actions were long before propheſied; & after they were done, were threatned, and the punishment preached that waited for them? And when the time was come, did not all things dispose themselues vnto it? and haue not they themselues wrought their owne ruine in such sort, that it was not in the power of their enemy to saue them? All things were more merciful to them then themselues, and of all the mischiefes they endured, there was none more cruell then such as they did with their owne hands. Wickednes is iust in this, she vsually punisheth her selfe, carrye th her selfe in spite of all the world to the Gallowes, and is often her owne executioner.

Let vs passe vnto the destructiō of the city of *Rome*, and let vs see when it happened, and in what manner.

It

It was not when their conditions were pure and godly, thar Iuſtice, Faithfulneſſe, and Magnanimitie flouriſhed therein, inſomuch as it made *Tertullian* to ſay, that their Lawes came verie neere vnto Innocency; but it was after they had diſpoyled al the earth of her Riches, and that together with the Gold and Siluer of their Prouinces, they had drawn their vices & corruptions. It was after Truth had beene a long time preached vnto them, and that they could not bee recalled from an inceſtuous and profane idolatrie, to the pure ſeruice of God. And how came it to paſſe? Euen by miraculous meanes, and wherein Prouidence ſhewed her ſelfe continually. There were ſeene vnknowne Nations, moued by ſecret motions, and hidden inſpirations, hauing ſcarcely any intelligence one with another, riſe whole from their ſeat, to ouerflow one after another this Monarchy. And in the ſame time the Emperours and the ſubiects, which had in times paſt kept by the onely fame of their vertue all the nations of the world vnder their obedience, ſo faint-hearted, ſo diuided into factions, and ſo ill aduiſed, that you would haue ſayd, that Prouidence had ſent Mowers vnto a ripe Harueſt ready to be cut downe.

But we need not to looke after forraine examples; let vs but examine what eſtate our *France* was in when the ſtorme came vpon vs, and the manner how we haue beene beaten. I will no more then you, haue ſo bad a conceite of the well-fare of my countrey, nor deſpaire ſo much of the mercy of God, that I thinke her vtter deſtruction to be at hand. Neuertheleſſe, what way ſoeuer things fall out, it muſt needes

needes breede an exceeding great alteration, full of miſerie and calamitie. Can we deny but that this calamitie is iuſtly come vpon vs, and that wee were growne then into ſuch a diſorder, an infamous corruption, that we were aſhamed of our ſelues, and ſerued as an argument vnto Impietie? to conclude that God who forbore ſo long to puniſh vs, had no care of humane affaires. I will not offend your eares with a new rehearſall of the abominable vices that raigned amongſt vs, and bee alledged by poſteritie, for a witneſſe of the ſhame of my nation, and of the infamy of this age. I will content my ſelſe with that which *Muſæus* hath touched of it in generall, and very ſparingly: and with that which you all know in particular, to your great griefe, as I beleeue. I deſire onely to enter into conſideration with you of the manner which Prouidence hath vſed to puniſh vs all one by another: leading & guiding our actions to an end altogether different from our own intent, & turning all our counſels againſt our ſelues for our puniſhment. We are here amongſt our faithfull friends, I beleeue that whatſoeuer we ſhall ſpeake, ſhall not go ouer the threſhold of the doore, wee may ſpeake freely.

If humane meanes and policy might ſerue againſt the decree of Prouidence; queſtionleſſe it ſeemed that the late King might eaſily haue auoyded the miſchief that ouerwhelmed him. For firſt, there was no likelyhood to vſe againſt him the pretext of Religion: ſeeing that he was not onely a Catholicke, but euen exceſſiue in ſhew of deuotion, leading the life rather of a Frier, then of a King: ſo that whatſoeuer the opinion

It was not when their conditions were pure and godly, thar Iuſtice, Faithfulneſſe, and Magnanimitie flouriſhed therein, inſomuch as it made *Tertullian* to ſay, that their Lawes came verie neere vnto Innocency; but it was after they had diſpoyled al the earth of her Riches, and that together with the Gold and Siluer of their Prouinces, they had drawn their vices & corruptions. It was after Truth had beene a long time preached vnto them, and that they could not bee recalled from an inceſtuous and profane idolatrie, to the pure ſeruice of God. And how came it to paſſe? Euen by miraculous meanes, and wherein Prouidence ſhewed her ſelfe continually. There were ſeene vnknowne Nations, moued by ſecret motions, and hidden inſpirations, hauing ſcarcely any intelligence one with another, riſe whole from their ſeat, to ouerflow one after another this Monarchy. And in the ſame time the Emperours and the ſubiects, which had in times paſt kept by the onely fame of their vertue all the nations of the world vnder their obedience, ſo faint-hearted, ſo diuided into factions, and ſo ill aduiſed, that you would haue ſayd, that Prouidence had ſent Mowers vnto a ripe Harueſt ready to be cut downe.

But we need not to looke after forraine examples; let vs but examine what eſtate our *France* was in when the ſtorme came vpon vs, and the manner how we haue beene beaten. I will no more then you, haue ſo bad a conceite of the well-fare of my countrey, nor deſpaire ſo much of the mercy of God, that I thinke her vtter deſtruction to be at hand. Neuertheleſſe, what way ſoeuer things fall out, it muſt needes

needes breede an exceeding great alteration, full of miſerie and calamitie. Can we deny but that this calamitie is iuſtly come vpon vs, and that wee were growne then into ſuch a diſorder, an infamous corruption, that we were aſhamed of our ſelues, and ſerued as an argument vnto Impietie? to conclude that God who forbore ſo long to puniſh vs, had no care of humane affaires. I will not offend your eares with a new rehearſall of the abominable vices that raigned amongſt vs, and bee alledged by poſteritie, for a witneſſe of the ſhame of my nation, and of the infamy of this age. I will content my ſelfe with that which *Muſæus* hath touched of it in generall, and very ſparingly: and with that which you all know in particular, to your great griefe, as I beleeue. I deſire onely to enter into conſideration with you of the manner which Prouidence hath vſed to puniſh vs all one by another: leading & guiding our actions to an end altogether different from our own intent, & turning all our counſels againſt our ſelues for our puniſhment. We are here amongſt our faithfull friends, I beleeue that whatſoeuer we ſhall ſpeake, ſhall not go ouer the threſhold of the doore, wee may ſpeake freely.

If humane meanes and policy might ſerue againſt the decree of Prouidence; queſtionleſſe it ſeemed that the late King might eaſily haue auoyded the miſchief that ouerwhelmed him. For firſt, there was no likelyhood to vſe againſt him the pretext of Religion: ſeeing that he was not onely a Catholicke, but euen exceſſiue in ſhew of deuotion, leading the life rather of a Frier, then of a King: ſo that whatſoeuer the opinion

of religion may worke in a State, it was on his fauour, and ſeemed to doe much for his conſeruation. Amongſt his ſubiects, the Princes of his blood were of his partie: as well for the duetie they owed vnto his dignitie, as for that they were perſwaded, that the new faction which was raiſed in the State, was to ſuppreſſe them. The Nobilitie was almoſt all at his command; as well for the ſame reaſons, as for that they knew full well, that if the people made an inſurrection againſt their Prince, they would pull downe all that were high and loftie. The poore countrey people were ſo wearied with the laſt warres, that they ſought for nothing ſo much as reſt; thoſe of townes, and cities had almoſt their wealth in the Princes hands, either by reaſon of the Rents or Offices that euery one had bought of him, he hauing beſtowed the places that belonged to warre, and the execution of Iuſtice vpon them, that enioyed them at that time. Among Churchmen, the Prelates were all made by his hand, and whoſoeuer looked for any preferment, could not expect it but from him: and for the meaner ſort, hee graced and fauoured them as much as he could. Who would euer haue thought, that a King ſtrengthened with ſuch meanes, ſhould haue feared any thing? ſpecially a commotion that was the certaine ouerthrow of all ſuch as ſhould put their hands vnto it? And at leaſt, who would euer haue miſtruſted, hee could haue receiued ſuch an affront as hee ſuffered that fatall day of the Barricadoes, that birth day of our miſerie? Mee thinkes I dreame whenſoeuer I call

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it to mind, and cannot beleeue what my memory repreſenteth vnto me : ſo farre this accident ſeemeth to me to goe beyond all ſenſe and reaſon.

The King was in his capitall Cittie, attended by a very great number of braue Princes, Lords and Gentlemen ; his Parliament was there, and his officers of Iuſtice, he held the battell, and had in his power all the ſtrong places of the towne, the Ordenance and Munitions of Warre, the Maior and Sheriffes, Coronels and Captaines of the Citrie were all his Officers and obliged Seruants, and much affected to his ſeruice: he had moreouer neere ſixe thouſand men of warre ſtrangers, diſpoſed of abroade as he pleaſed himſelfe. Notwithſtanding all this, a popular commotion raiſed vpon a falſe report, made him to behold his people armed againſt him, and his owne perſon beſieged in a manner within his owne houſe. It was a wonderfull thing for a man to conſider the humour of the people in their mutinous fits ; for among ſo many armed men that came foorth, the better ſort iudged well enough the end of this action, and euen the moſt part of the reſt, were kept backe by the reſpect due vnto the Soueraigne. So that if they had bin queſtioned euery one by himſelfe, there had bin few or none that had not wiſhed this ſtirre had neuer falne out, or that it had been already appeaſed. Neuertheleſſe, the furie that mooued theſe people, did ſo incenſe their courages, that thoſe which feared at firſt to come forth into the ſtreet with weapons in their hands, were ready the next day to go & beſiege their ſoueraign Prince euen within his Caſtle.

So that he was inforced for to ſaue himſelfe, to retire as if he had fled away, & yet theſe people were ſo mad that they would willingly haue purſued him. A ſtrange thing! that thoſe people whom hee had ſo much cheriſhed, and fed with the ſpoyles of the reſt of his ſubiects, with whom he had made himſelfe familiar and inward: yea farre beyond all decencie, which had more intereſt then any other in the conſeruation of the publike quiet, ſhould loſe in an inſtant the reſpect of royall Maieſtie, the remembrance of his bountie, the feare of the Law, the reuerence of his Magiſtrate: to caſt thēſelues headlong by ſuch an inſolency and raſhneſſe, into a bottomleſſe pit of woe and miſerie.

What meaneth all this, but that there was a higher power, which ſtirred thoſe ſpirits, and gaue life vnto this ſedition, that it might be the beginning of the puniſhment, that God had prepared for the King and all the kingdome. For I hold, that euen from that day the crowne fell from his head, and to our great miſchiefe and his too, began to be broken. And ſince that, all things were turned to our ruine, and all the counſels that could be taken for our recouerie, haue beene turned into our miſerie and calamitie, and into theirs that were the authours thereof. But that which is the moſt admirable in the continuall courſe of our euils, is that, ſince God ſuffered this poore ſtate to be torne into thoſe two great factions: he vſed them in ſuch ſort, that you would haue ſayd, they had beene ſet and diſpoſed to giue one another by turnes each of them a blow, as if they had beene wagered by diuine Iuſtice to puniſh one another. The firſt blow

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was that which the king receiued; great certainly to see himselfe driuen out of the chiefest cittie of his kingdome by his owne subiects: to see himselfe banished in the midst of his estate: to see himselfe depriued of his authoritie and of his commodities. To be reuenged he made the second stroke at *Blois*, which was a great wound to his enemies, but was no cure to his. He thought by this deed to haue blowne vp all the contrary party, and smothered in the blood of those two Princes, the firebrands of ciuill war; but it fell out far otherwise, for he kindled them by it, & did let out by this wound the torrents of blood, which haue since ouerflowne all *France*. For you know how that presently after this, almost all the great townes of this kingdome rebelled, combined themselues and conspired together: you remember how that soone after he was besieged and almost taken in *Tours*. Truely all things were so bent against him, and Fortune seemed to be so fauourable to the league, that those which were on that side thought they had wonne all, and behaued themselues very insolently in their Fortune. But the battell of *Senlis* cooled them, & plucked downe the pride & the hope of those that were gone from hence, to buy the pillage of that towne, which wee accounted already euen as taken. Afterwards followed the siege of this Cittie, which brought vs within two fingers of our destruction; and truely there was no meanes to auoyd it, when the Chance began to turne, and that the king was treacherously killed with that fearefull blow that ended his life pittifully, and put all his into a great confusion. The heart of the League began then to

increaſe, and new hopes appeared vnto their leaders; ſpecially when as the King that now is, was beſieged in *Dieppe*, and that they reported in the market place hee ſhould bee brought forthwith priſoner to *Paris*. That good time laſted not long, for euery one wondred to ſee him, and feele him in the Suburbs of *Paris*, and almoſt within the citty it ſelfe. Certainly that amazed vs much, but we grew neuer the wiſer for all that. The League had preſently after a mightie Armie, and tooke *Vincennes* and *Pontoiſe*, they promiſed themſelues no leſſe in *Paris* then that the King ſhould bee inſtantly taken: for they thinke here, that to giue a battell, and winne it is all one. They were taught full well, they are two ſundry things; for the League gaue the battell, but it was terribly beaten. This loſſe was ſeconded with others, to wit, that of *Mante*, *Corbeil*, and *Melune*: neuertheleſſe, the Fortune of the vanquiſher was not ſuch, but that he found a thorne at *Sens*, that ſtayed his courſe. Now behold *Paris* is beleagred, ſuffring all the calamities that one may, not onely ſay, but imagine: they looke at this preſent for the ſuccour of ſtrangers, that will come and ſpoyle the countrey, and ſeize vpon *France* if they can.

What is all that, but an Ebbe and Tide of miſery, a turne and returne of calamitie, that will ſwallow vs vp in the end, if God hath no more pittie of vs, then wee haue our ſelues? who is ſo blinde, either of body or vnderſtanding, that ſeeth not, that all is nothing elſe, but the hand of God, which whippeth vs one after another by turnes, with the roddes of warres, without

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any body bee able to exempt himſelfe from it? who iudgeth not plainely, that hee makes vſe of our malice and wickedneſſe, to puniſh vs one by another. Kings, Princes and Nobilitie are chaſtiſed by the inſurrection of the people, which ſhake off the yoake of obedience, ſeize vpon their houſes, cauſe them to wander vp and downe with their defolate and ruined families: they are chaſtiſed by the wounds vnto the which they are expoſed euery day, by the effuſion of their blood, wherewithall the field is ſtained almoſt all ouer. The people on the other ſide are chaſtiſed by the ſouldiours that robbe, ſpoyle, and ranſacke them: townes are taken againe and againe: and thoſe that may bee kept aud eaten vp with Garriſons, ſurcharged with Watching, harried with Toyles, afflicted with Pouertie and Famine, and which is worſt the Inhabitants Robbe, Sacke, and Eate vp one another. As for the Church-men, whoſe Vices haue as much as any thing elſe inflamed the wrath of God againſt vs, and kindled this warre, which they maintaine ſtill as much as they can: they are the common play-game of all the reſt, and as the ſubiect of the inſolencies and iniuries both of the Nobilitie and Commons. I forbeare to ſay, that the ſeruice of God is forſaken euery where, that impietie and blaſphemies increaſe, that all manner of ſacriledge and pollution is committed in holy places, and whereas that ſhould bee the moſt grieuous and and ſenſible ſorrow, yet it is that we do leſſe complaine of.

But

But as for their wealth, and temporall goods, for the which we haue beene ſo tormented; and to ſay truely, raiſed for their cauſe all theſe Tragedies . how are they dealt with all? Their Benefices, their Lands and Rents are ſeized on, ouerthrowne, and burnt in the countrey: and their bodies impriſoned, ranſommed and wronged in the Citties, the greater dignitie and honour they haue, ſo much the more are they vexed and tormented. And which is more remarkeable, they are yet worſt vſed by thoſe of the faction they haue raiſed, then by thoſe which they deeme their enemies: No title, no qualitie, no order, no holineſſe can protect them from the inſolency of the ſeditions of townes and citties, or ſouldiours of armies, or countrey Gentlemen.

Now behold how God ouerthroweth the deſigns of men, and how he can puniſh them at his pleaſure one by another: what is lacking to giue contentment and ſatisfaction vnto thoſe that haue made any queſtion of diuine Iuſtice, but onely to ſee a few lewd villaines, that liue in peace, and practiſe their wickednes vpon innocent people, puniſhed in their turne. Wee are not yet in the end of this Tragicall play, let vs haue patience but vntill the laſt Act, we ſhall ſee what we expect : we ſhall ſee, I ſay, that the ſame people which they haue ſtirred againſt good men, ſhall purchaſe their owne ruine. For people in commotion are like vnto the Sea, which in a ſtorme and tempeſt raiſeth to the top of the water all the filth that is in the bottome, but by little and little it caſteth it on ſhore. Wee haue ſeene the example of ſome already, whoſe ambition and couetouſneſſe hath bin requi-

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ted by the diſdainfull contempt and iniury of the baſe multitude. We muſt hope the reſt ſhall haue their turne too, and ſhall participate vnto the afflictions they haue procured to ſo many honeſt mẽ. That which is moſt to be feared, is, that God wil wrap vs altogether in one, and the ſelfe-ſame ruine, as wee are much threatned; and exterminate all at once ſo many euill conſciences that are amongſt vs, being no otherwayes able to amend them. The ſureſt remedie we haue left, is, to proſtrate our ſelues deuoutly before his diuine Maieſtie, and by the humilitie of our prayers, bend vnto Mercie the rigour of his Iuſtice, and obtaine of him, that he will bee more mercifull vnto vs, then wee are our ſelues; and that ſeeing we haue found our owne miſchief, in what we deſired moſt: he will be pleaſed by his grace, to let vs finde our good, in that which wee haue moſt feared. Neuertheleſſe, if his wrath doth continue againſt vs, what Fortune ſoeuer falles vpon vs, wee muſt beare it patiently, and with great reuerence, as proceeding from that great and iuſt Prouidence, whoſe ballance is neuer ſtirred, but by the weight of Reaſon, vnto which therefore wee muſt ſubmit our will.

I apprehend well enough what offendeth you in this diſcourſe, it is the ſame thorne which galled me in times paſt vpon this verie ſame way. You cannot comprehend, why good men in ſuch accidents ſhould ſuffer together with the wicked, the innocent with the guiltie. If there be Prouidence, ſhe is iuſt: if ſhe be iuſt, ſhe ought to reward the good, and puniſh the wicked, and not wrap them altogether in

the ſelfe-ſame affliction. But to cleere this doubt of yours, I would aske you, in what part of the earth, haue haue found this innocencie you bemoane ſo much, & by what tokens you can know it. Our faults and ſinnes are committed by our members, and viſible parts of our bodie: but they are bred inwardly within our ſoule, that is the wombe wherein they are conceiued, which they pollute no leſſe for being not brought forth, then if they had really come to light: for yet, an ill action which we doo, is vſually followed with griefe and repentance, that doth ſomwhat purge it. but as for ill intentions, which we foſter in our mind, as burning coales vnder aſhes, we thinke becauſe they are not known, they are not ill, & do not abſtain from them. If the ſeate of ſinne be in our ſoule, and that we cannot penetrate into it; how ſhould wee haue notice of another mans innocencie, ſeeing wee know how often we haue offended God our ſelues; without others could be able to perceiue it? But that goeth beyond our reach; let vs ſuffer him to take notice of it, that is the onely Iudge of the heart, and voluptuouſneſſe of men: and if wee may preſume any thing in this, let vs follow that coniecture which is moſt reaſonable: let vs preſume for his iudgement, and beleeue that he is iuſt. As truly it is very hard in ſo corrupted an age, that his thunder ſhould fall out on any place where there were not ſome guiltie. Fiſhes haue that propertie indeede, that they are bred and nouriſhed in the Sea, without any taſte of the ſaltneſſe of it: but, that men may be nouriſhed and brought vp in the filth and infection

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of the earth, and neuer bee defiled with it; if it be not impoſſible, it is verie difficult and hard. But I grant you may finde amongſt vs a good number of godly and innocent people, that are moſt of all afflicted by the publike calamitie; I will maintaine notwithſtanding, that they haue no cauſe to complaine, rather they are bound to giue thankes to God for it, as for a great fauour: and reckon thoſe accidents amongſt the greateſt benefites they receiue from him. This medicine ſeemeth bitter vnto you, ſeeing the manner how you taſte it: but take it downe, and you will feele it ſweete and wholeſome, and will more ſettle your mind then any remedy you can vſe: yea I ſay, that that which we call miſeries and calamities, are gifts of God moſt precious and profitable. To perſwade you thereto; it might ſuffice I haue ſhewed you that they happen for a good cauſe, and proceede from a hand that is perfectly good: from whence, as from a quicke ſpring, are deriued al the veines of our goods. But if they haue a good cauſe, they haue yet a better end, and that will I proue eaſily. Neuertheleſſe afore I take it inhand, I wil anſwer ſome obiections, that as I reade in your face, you haue a minde to alledge againſt me concerning the meanes that are vſed to attaine vnto this end.

You will ſay, Are not warres, murthers, ſackings, rauiſhings, & other plagues wherewith we are afflicted bad things of themſelues? thoſe that commit them, haue they not an intent to hurt vs? doe not they deſire our harme, doe they not endeauour themſelues to vndoe vs? Can you call our miſeries,

euils, but you muſt accuſe the vices of thoſe, that are the inſtruments thereof? and defile their hands with ſo many ſacrileges and wicked deeds? To cleere this doubt, I deſire you to make a diſtinction betweene the afflictions that happen to vs. Some proceede but from natural cauſes, as Famine, Dearth, Earthquakes, Plagues, Floods, Mortalities, and ſuch like: in others the Will of man doth co-operate; as Tyrannies, Warres, Murthers, Sackings. Thoſe queſtionleſſe, haue no other intent but our good, for they haue no other end, then his that ordaineth them: theſe vndoubtedly haue an ill intent, for they are managed by the will of the wicked: but it is an euill, which God turneth to good. For though priuate men which God doth vſe in ſuch actions, are bent to an ill end: neuertheleſſe, the laſt end where he cauſeth them to meete together, is our good and welfare. Euen as the Archer ſhooteth the Arrow at a marke which the Arrow ſeeth not; ſo doth hee conduct them to an effect, that they neither deſire, nor vnderſtand. Which wee ought not to thinke ſtrange in the actions of this All-wiſe Prouidence, ſeeing that euen in humane affaires, to attaine vnto a thing, we vſe often-times that which is intended for another, either different or contrary.

Behold an Armie of Souldiours going furiouſly to a Battell, ſome are incited to it by quarrels, others induced by a deſire of glory, others moued by ſpleen others by hope of bootie: but they do all conforme themſelues in the end, to the intent of the Generall, that is the victorie. Good and bad are in this world entertained vnder Gods pay, and fight for his glory;

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ſome are choſen &inſtructed, others are as bondmen & ſlaues. Why (wil you ſay) ſhould he vſe the wicked, he that is ſtill All-good, & All-mightie, hath he no other meanes to worke his will? He hath not made the wicked ſuch, they are become ſo of thēſelues, but ſeeing they are ſo, he muſt make vſe of thē in ſomthing. A great worke-man ought not to haue any thing vnprofitable in his ſhop. Art can draw from the worſt things that are, very good & wholſome effects. I will tell you more, that there are many things very beneficiall, which could not ſubſiſt, if there were not ſome ill thing in thē. That famous medicament called Treacle, an inuentiō truly diuine againſt poyſon; hath for its chiefeſt ingredient the viper, that is one of the moſt venemous of all ſerpents. Would you argue with God, for that in the afflictions he ſendeth to vs, as a medicament as needfull, as wholeſome for the purgation of our ſoules: hee mingleth a little of that humane viper, to wit, the peruerſe will of the wicked, which he doth ſo qualifie with many other Iuices he addeth vnto it, and by the fire of the holy Charitie, wherewith he loueth vs, that there is nothing can be ill to vs but the taſte, which we thinke a little bitter, as are all medicaments of great ſtrength and vertue. The effect of it queſtionleſſe is euer good, and the end is neuer otherwiſe then for our good and profit, whether we be vertuous, whether we be vicious, whether we be innocent, whether we be guiltie.

And as for the firſt, what can a father doe more for his children, that are to liue in a countrey vexed with warre, then to bring them vp to labor and toile, teach them to endure heate and cold, hunger and

thirſt, traine them vp to armes, accuſtome them to ſeare nothing, goe to the blowes as to a wedding. Thoſe that haue bin brought vp in this manner, liue at libertie, preſerue their goods, purchaſe honour and glory, and are deemed happy. Contrariwiſe, thoſe that haue beene kept daintily, and haue baſtardized their ſoules with delights and pleaſures, are made a booty to others, ſerue humbly to the ſtronger, endure all manner of iniuries, liue and die without honour. Man coms into the world as into a pitcht field, wherin all ſorts of euils beſet him round about, euen from his birth to his death hee hath no other exerciſe but fighting. Doe you wonder if this good & wiſe father will often exerciſe vs, to harden vs to labour? No, no, hee doth not flatter vs like a fond mother, that ſpoyleth her children: but reproueth vs like a wiſe father that vſeth them ſeuerely. He keepes vs in awe continually, and doth exerciſe vs not onely till wee ſweate, but euen till wee bleede. He knoweth very well that a ſouldier doth not become a Captaine but by working, ſuffering, bearing, abiding, enduring day and night, hot and cold, the raine and the Sunne. The Sailor groweth to be a Pilote amongſt tempeſts and ſtormes: and man becomes not a man indeed, that is, conſtant & couragious, but in aduerſitie. It is affliction makes him know his ſtrength, it is ſhee which as the ſteele from the flint drawes from man that ſparke of diuine fire he hath in his heart, and maketh his vertue ſhine and appeare.

There is nothing ſo worthy of man, as to ouercome aduerſitie; nor meanes to ouercome it, but to ſtriue with it; nor meanes to ſtriue with it, but to meete

meete it. There is the first benefit affliction brings to a good man, which is not small. As that hath some labour ioyned with it, so this which followeth hath very much comfort. It consisteth in this, that calamitie letteth him know what reckoning God makes of him: for wee ought to thinke he doth not set vs out to perils and dangers, but for a good opinion hee hath of our vertue, and for the earnest desire he hath to see vs behaue our selues well. A Captaine doth not picke out a meane souldier to trie a painefull and dangerous enterprise: he chuseth the most valiant and couragious; and whom hee respects aboue all the rest, he setteth them formost. It is an honourable iudgement is made of a man, when a hard and troublesome place is committed to his charge. Euen the heathen themselues made the like iudgement of aduersities, and deemed them to whom they happened, to be most beloued of their gods: by such degrees they made *Hercules* clime vp to heauen. And as for vs that are better taught then they, we haue our lesson in writing, that tels vs, we shall not be crowned if we do not fight. Ought not we to thinke, that when we are inuited to the fight, we are inuited to the glory? What voyce do you esteeme to haue been more pleasant vnto those, that presented themselues vnto the Olympicke games, then that of the trumpets which called them into the lists? Doe not you beleeue, that euen in the heate of the fight, the desire they had to please the people, and get an honourable iudgement, tooke away from them the feeling of the paine, and made their wounds seeme vnto them gentle and easie.

Now

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Now

Now beſides the pleaſure we receiue in our ſoule, whileſt that we are imployed about braue, and generous actions, and that conſtancy worketh in a maner, and wraſtleth with aduerſitie, there remaines afterwards vnto vs a greater taſte of it, when as wee are deliuered, and are come into a ſafe harbour. For there is nothing more pleaſant in the world, nor that giues a greater contentment to our ſoules, then the teſtimony our conſcience beareth vnto vertue, and the remẽbrance that is left to vs, how we haue vndantedly withſtood ill Fortune. We are filled then with an vnſpeakeable pleaſure, and the ſplendour of a true and ſound glory ſeemeth to ſhine about vs, and giue vs ſome preeminence amongſt men. There is another benefit proceedeth from our patience, that ought not to comfort vs leſſe then the precedent. It is the benefit which thoſe that come after vs reape by our good example; that is vnto them in ſtead of a Torch, to lighten them to faire and glorious actions. Wee owe vnto poſterity moſt part of our beſt actions, & me thinke thoſe, that are borne to honor, haue not any more earneſt, & more vſual wiſhes, then to ſacrifiſe their liues for the publike good. Inſomuch that it ſeemes vnto me, that the occaſions which affoord vs meanes to each others to do well by our imitation, and make vs illuſtrious in time to come, by the commendation of our vertue, ſhould pleaſe vs exceedingly, becauſe they make vs very honourable and profitable vnto poſteritie. The ſweating and bleeding of thoſe that behaue themſelues vertuouſly in their calamities, are ſo many fountaines that are neuer dried vp: from whence runneth a generous de-

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to reſemble them. There is no doubt then, but good men get profit by the calamities, that happen vnto them, and the publike alſo reape by them many great commodities.

Let vs ſee whether thoſe that fall vpon guiltie people, that are farre greater in number then the others, be of the ſame nature. Yes certainly. There is two ſorts of thoſe that haue ſtrayed from the way of vertue, and the obedience they owe vnto God (which is the true and onely innocencie.) Some doe but beginne to ſwarue, the others vtterly loſt; affliction is to both of them a wholeſome and a needfull remedie. It is to the firſt in ſtead of a gentle and fatherly correction; it is as the rodde wherewithall God brings that man backe againe to his dutie that is ſwarued from it, vſing towards vs the office of a wiſe father, that chaſtiſeth his children ſo much the more carefully, as he loueth them deerely: he correcteth them for ſmall and light faults, leaſt being neglected, they turne into cuſtome, cuſtome into crime and imputation, and fall into the hands of the publike Magiſtrate, in regard they haue not ſuffered domeſticall reprehenſion; and endure a cruell and ſhamefull puniſhment for their ſtubbornneſſe, in not receiuing a fatherly and charitable correction. I will tell you more, that as God is infinitely wiſe, and yet better towards vs, doth often preuent our faults; and as he ſeeth our will inclined to doe ill, hee doth redreſſe and correct vs by aduerſities, as with a bit, that hee putteth in our mouths, to ſtop our ill inclination, & tame our affections by our afflictions. Let vs tell the truth, how many times in our life hath Prouidence

catcht vs in ill thoughts, and with a knocke vpon our fingers hath forced vs to let goe our hold? How many ill members haue wee had, that haue ſpoke to our conſcience, pulled downe our pride, and aduertiſed vs that we were men.

It is reported, that the Great King *Francis* (truely great, for he was endowed with great vertues, and great vices) being taken priſoner in the battell of *Pauie*, was carried into a Monaſterie; where the firſt thing that was offered to his eyes, was an inſcription ouer a gate, containing this verſe of a Pſalme; *It is well O Lord that thou haſt humbled mee, to let mee know the power of thy Iuſtice.* Another will impute this to a Chance: as for mee, I thinke it a ſingular worke of diuine Prouidence, that carried this Prince to that place, after ſuch a misfortune, that hee might ſee his Leſſon in writing, and comprehend the warning God gaue him, to make vſe of his calamitie; and moderate that vanitie wherewithall hee marred, and corrupted many rare vertues that were in him. The mightier Princes are, ſo much the more are they watched by that Soueraigne Gouernour, who knowing the importance of their actions to the ruine, or conſeruation of their people, ſlackneth and bendeth their heart and their hand, according as he thinks fit for our good and his glory. There is no body can expreſſe it better then the Scripture. The Kings heart is in the hand of God. They are his Attorneys and Adminiſtratours, that hee ſendeth hither with a full and large commiſſion, which neuertheleſſe hee can recall

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or moderate when hee pleaſeth. Seeing that this diſcourſe hath made mee to light on this example; I will adde another to it, of a young French Gentleman, who in our daies had cauſed theſe words to bee engrauen in a Dagger; *I ſtrike without reſpect.* It happened that dancing a Curranto, his Dagger ſlipt out of the Scabbard, and wounded him ſo ſore in the Thigh, that hee was like to die vpon it. Iudge you whether this blow did not ſpeake to him, and vpbraid him for his temeritie. Now if wee conſider the afflictions that happen to vs, either before wee commit any fault, or after our firſt and lighteſt faults; wee ſhall finde, that God vſeth vs ſtill very meekely and kindly. They are commonly but gentle corrections, like vnto thoſe of the *Perſians*, that whipped the Cloathes in ſtead of thoſe that had done the fault. Hee medleth onely with our goods, our honours, and ſome ſuch ragges: he takes them away from vs now and then for a time, as they doe Kniues, and Daggers from little children, leaſt they ſhould hurt themſelues with them. Thus much for the firſt.

Now for the others that are paſt al hopes of amendment, whō fatherly correction could not turne, & againſt whō God is conſtrained to ſhew himſelf a iuſt Iudge, and appoint a ſeuere puniſhment; it cannot be ſaid, but their calamitie is very good, and very profitable. If we conſider the perſon of him that ſendeth it; the vnchangeable Law of his eternall Iuſtice requireth, that whatſoeuer cannot bee amended, bee taken away, and cut off from this world. If we conſi-

der the generall intereſt of humane ſocietie, it is certaine it could not ſubſiſt, if the wicked were not chaſtiſed, and kept vnder for feare of puniſhment, ſeeing the loue of vertue is not able to reſtraine them. Thoſe that gouerne Townes and Borroughes, thinke neceſſary for their conſeruation, to puniſh Cut-purſes and priuate Theeues: and you would not haue him that ruleth all the world, to chaſtiſe Kings, Princes, Common-wealths, and whole Citties, whoſe power and authoritie is aboue the ciuill Law, and hath nothing ouer it to puniſh it, but diuine Iuſtice: without whoſe helpe the Euill would ſeize vpon all, and ſtretch its corruption ouer all the parts of the world? Now who can diſallow of that which is beneficiall to al the world, & complain of it for his priuate intereſt? We cal that ours, which is common to vs and others too; & a good that belongs to all the Vniuerſe, ſhall not we call it our Good? Doth it not concerne vs all, that diuine Iuſtice ſhould ſhew examples to teach men, that there is an All-ſeeing eye that iudgeth and examineth all things, that we may heare the wicked amiddeſt their torments crie out, and giue warning to all men,

To loue Iuſtice, and ſtill remember God.

It is a thing too plaine and too eaſie to perſwade men, that it is needfull the wicked ſhould be puniſhed. But perhaps it will be harder to perſwade them, that the deſerued calamitie, which befals them for correction, is for their good and profit. It ſhould be indeed the chiefeſt deſire of man, not to deſerue puniſhment,

niſhment, but hauing deſerued it, the next is to acquit it with ſpeed. For that which God ſendeth to men in this world to chaſtize them, proceedeth not from one that hath a minde to hurt them, but onely to ſtop the courſe of their wickednesſe, and by the ſame meanes the courſe of their miſerie. For ſo much as diuine Iuſtice, being to appoint the ſeueritie of correction, according to the greatneſſe of offences; the more ſhee ſhould forbeare the wicked, ſo much the more ſhould ſhe encreaſe the meaſure of their torment. Will you ſee how puniſhment is for the good of the wicked? Remember thoſe you haue ſeene at publike execution, which prayſed the Iuſtice and the Lawes that cauſed them to die. O how godly are thoſe thunders, that euen ſuch as are ſtrooke with them doe worſhip! I ſay more to you; there were ſome ſeene that had committed hainous offences, were ſo troubled in minde, that after they had beene hidden a long time, came of their owne accord to accuſe and ſubmit themſelues vnto puniſhment: deeming the torment ordained by the lawes, farre eaſier then that of their owne conſcience. If there be guiltie men that receiue death thankefully, ordained by ciuill lawes for their offences, and finde ſome comfort in it; how much the more are they bound, to take patiently the calamitie appointed by diuine Iuſtice; which being receiued with an humble and meeke ſpirit, if they are to liue any longer in this world, purifieth their ſoule, and ſetteth their conſcience at reſt? and if they die, deliuereth them from eternall torment? If we haue a rotten limme, we go to the Surgeon; and if we cannot goe, we ſend to in-

treate him to come and cut it off, for feare it ſhould infect and ſpoyle the reſt; and are not we willing that our ſoule to bee kept from the filth and pollution, wherewithall our body ſtaineth it, ſhould bee ſtript by that Soueraigne Phyſitian, that commeth of himſelfe to vs, and doth nothing but for our good?

I perceiue by your countenances, that out of the diuine fire of this Diſcourſe, there ariſeth a ſmoake that makes your eyes to ſmart. It is in my opinion a great inequalitie of proportion, that is ſeene in puniſhment of the wicked, that leſſeneth the credit of that which we haue already ſayd concerning Prouidence. For we ſee dayly, that amongſt the wicked, ſome are puniſhed, and ſome are not: ſome that haue committed many grieuous offences endure much paine, and others to the contrary. That which I haue ſayd heretofore might ſuffiſe me to anſwer this obiection, to wit, that the will of God is the ſupreame Iuſtice, that ſithence he will haue it ſo, it is well. The ſame reaſon wherefore he doth all things, requireth alſo, that no body ſhould ask him the reaſon of them. His counſels are deepe, vnſearchable, and bottomleſſe depths; and when our eyes, that hardly can ſee that which lieth at our feete, cannot reach: and neuertheleſſe, if wee will follow his footſteps, we finde it ſo iuſt, yea ſo tollerable, that it will giue vs a reaſon euen of ſuch things, for which it is not bound to yeeld any: and ſhall finde his Iuſtice in moſt part of the things that torment vs, euen like vnto himſelfe. And though for a time it hideth it ſelfe, it comes foorth at laſt, and appeares of the ſame colour in one place as well as in the other: imitating

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therein diuers riuers that are loſt vnder ground in ſome places, but neuertheleſſe ſpring vp againe, and run when they come neere the Sea.

Firſt, in regard you eſteeme there are ſome wicked vnpuniſhed; you are deceiued: wickednesſe and puniſhment are twins that are borne together, and forſake not one another. The ſharpe and ſtinging remorſe of conſcience, heauy and mournfull ſorrowes, bitter repentance are his domeſticall executioners, that are neuer wanting. Do not thinke them Fables, that the parts repreſented by the Furies, with firebrands in their hands, comming to terrifie the guiltie. It is a liuely picture, expreſſing naturally the paſſion indured by the wicked, that are tormented by their owne conſcience. Eſteeme not the paines of a Wheele, or of Fire, or any other humane torture, to approch any wayes vnto the crueltie of Furies, vexing the minde of the impious. What torment could be inuented ſo great, and that could haue racked ſo much that ſame *Catulus*, which preſented the *Iewes*, as his owne conſcience, repreſenting vnto him in his dreames, a great multitude of men by him maſſacred; whoſe dreadfull and bloody ſhapes vncouered their wounds, and challenged him for their children, whom hee murthered; for their goods that hee ranſacked; and in the ende threatned and foretold him horrible calamities. What torture doe you thinke it was to *Herod* to heare night and day the Ghoſts of his Wife and Children, that reuiled and vpbrayded him with his crueltie, in regard hee had moſt barbarouſly and wickedly ſlaine them?

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What richeſſe? what magnificence? what pleaſure can cheere vp thoſe that are troubled with ſuch thoughts? Is not all their life a continuall torture? But I grant there be ſome that eſcape thoſe torments in this world; what nation was there euer ſo barbarous, that made any queſtion but there was a hell, that waited for them after their death, and where their paine ſhould bee the more horrible and feareſull, that it was put off vntill that time, to be diſcharged and acquitted, when as they ſhall be moſt ſenſible of it? Their torment doth not beginne in this life, leaſt it ſhould end with life: it ſtayeth for them, till they are come to that place, where they ſhall keepe it for euer. And this may be obſerued in the wicked, whereof alſo they giue tokens enough: for how many do we ſee, that ſeemed afore, to liue in great tranquilitie and quietneſſe of minde, that approching neere their end, began to deſpaire, and tumble, and toſſe ſtrangely vp and downe, foretelling the miſeries that attended them in hell? The wicked then cannot flie from the hands of diuine Iuſtice.

But ſome ſay, they are puniſhed too late, and that Prouidence is too blame to forbeare them ſo long: for if they were chaſtiſed for the firſt faults, they would not commit the ſecond afterwards? It is a very eaſie matter to anſwer this curious obiection. For though Prouidence had no other occaſion to be ſo ſlow in puniſhing, but to giue vs an example not to be too haſtie, when wee are to Iudge of the life of men, ſhe had reaſon enough. Would to God wee might make good vſe of the inſtruction ſhe giue vs in this place. If ſhe that knoweth all, that ſearcheth

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the bottome of our thoughts, proceedeth very ſlowly and by degrees to iudgement; what ſhould wee doe, we that in the cleereſt things can ſee nothing, and are commonly deceiued in thoſe wee eſteeme moſt certaine? If wee tooke as much leaſure and care to iudge of Prouidence, as Prouidence doth to iudge vs, we ſhould be better informed then we are, and ſhould finde ſhe doth nothing, but with very great iuſtice and wiſedome. But ſhe hath yet another euident occaſion of this ſlowneſſe: ſhee will make thoſe that are incorrigible, inexcuſable, and take from them all reaſon to ſay, they had no time to amend; and giue leaſure to the flexible and tractable to remember themſelues, and come backe to ſaluation. There hath beene many men ſeene in the world, whoſe firſt offences if God had ſtrictly puniſhed, he had ſmothered great, yea admirable vertues, that haue ſince flouriſhed in them. The firſt boyling heate of Youth, doth ſometimes caſt out the ſcum of it, that makes euen old age more pure and moderate. Which the Greeke Poet would ſignifie when he repreſented *Vlyſſes*, that with a naked ſword in his hand forced *Circe* to giue him his companions againe, and reſtore them to their firſt ſhapes: for hee ſayth, ſhe rendred them to him againe fairer and purer then euer they were. Meaning to let vs vnderſtand, that when Reaſon, that is ſignified by the ſword, forceth Voluptuouſneſſe, that is ſignified by *Circe*, to reſtore men to their true nature, and put them again into their firſt perfection; they become fairer, then if they had neuer been defiled by pleaſures, and are euen as ſcoured with the grauell and dregges of the

world, wherewith they had bemired themselues.

Would you haue another reason yet of the slow execution of Gods iudgements against offendours? It is because his executioners are not alwaies ready. He doth not punish the wicked: he forbeareth sometimes to chastise a tyrant, vntill that a cruell and bold murtherer be found, that will vndertake to kill him. Sometimes he stayeth for a more fitting season, to haue the more beholders of his iustice, and that the example may be the more obserued. Sometimes hee will keepe in it solemnities and ceremonies, to make the action more famous: so it was his will and pleasure *Cæsar* should be slain in the Senate house, whose authoritie he had vsurped; and before the Statue of *Pompeius* his son in law, whose ruine he did so ambitiously pursue. So it was his pleasure since, *Brutus* and *Cassius* should kill themselues with the same daggers wherewith they had killed *Cæsar*.

But aboue all the obiections that are made against Prouidence, the hardest and most difficult in my opinion to answer, is this; that we see often some commit the fault, and others to beare the blame and punishment: and as the verse of *Solon* saith;

Often for one wicked, God doth destroy a towne.

The father offendeth, and the sonne or the grandchild are wretched for it. He that shall be as curious to sift and search out the effects of Prouidence to defend it, as they doe to ouerthrow it, this difficultie shall bee verie easie to resolue: where they argue much iniquitie, they shall finde much wise-

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dome and iuſtice. For by theſe meanes God giueth warning vnto all men, to watch and bee carefull to hinder euill, and puniſh it when it is done, for feare that if they ſtay till he taketh it in hand, he will taxe thoſe that permitted it, as well as thoſe that committed it. How much doe you thinke, the coſtome that was obſerued amongſt the Romanes, to decimate and tithe euery Legion; nay, whole Armies, did encourage and hearten good ſouldiers to fight manfully, and die rather with honour and glorie by the hand of the enemie, then ſhamefully by the hand of the Executioner? Who praiſeth not the law that is in *Turkie*, by the which the inhabitants of a Towne or Borrough, are bound to anſwer for any robberie that is committed within their liberties? That maketh them ſo carefull and diligent to looke to it, that there is no ſpeech of any. At our comming into the World, and inhabiting of Townes and Countreys, wee contract a ſecret ſocietie, and are bound to God one for another. He is the true and firſt Lord of the Earth, and of all it containeth; he giueth it vnto vs, to enioy it in common: but hee ſetteth in the condition; that wee bee good men, vpon paine of his high diſpleaſure if wee bee otherwiſe. Why ſhould not wee bee liable to the whole of the conditions, whereupon hee hath beſtowed ſo many bleſſings on vs? If wee haue dealt with a Merchant of a company, the whole company is anſwerable for it: if a towne or a corporation oweth vs any thing, wee diſtraine priuate mens goods.

If we had called this often to minde ſince the beginning of our Broyles, and that we had conſidered, wee were to beare indifferently the puniſhment for the inſolencies, robberies, and villanies we haue ſeene committed, and that wee haue foſtered and maintained by our weakneſſe, or to ſpeake freely by our ſlackneſſe, when as we might eaſily haue ſmothered them in their beginning, we had kept our ſelues, or I am deceiued, from ſo many euils that torment vs; and our countrey from the ruine and deſtruction whereof it is threatned. But whileſt that euery one hath endeauoured himſelfe to ſaue his owne, the publike hath been left and abandoned vnto all them that would ranſacke it. We are now engaged vnder its fall, and learne too late the ſaying of *Solon* to bee true; that, There was neuer either Locke, or Bolt that could hinder pubike euill from comming into priuate houſes. In vaine doth he thinke to ſaue his houſe that ſuffereth the State to go to wracke. It is truely well ſayd: He that betrayeth his countrey, yeeldeth vp himſelfe.

Let vs anſwer a word vnto thoſe that complaine, that the children beare the puniſhment of their fathers ſins. I do not know why they find it ſo ſtrange, ſeeing that ciuill lawes extend vnto the children, the puniſhment of thoſe that are attainted of high treaſon. Do you eſteeme the Maieſtie of God leſſe then that of worldly Kings and Princes? And do not you thinke God hath the ſame conſideration which Lawmakers haue: and deſireth to reſtraine the wicked by the feare of ſuch things as can mooue them ſooneſt? Some one cannot be ſtayed backe by his owne euill,

that

that is kept in by that which is propoſed to his children. We are farre more afflicted with their miſerie, then with our owne. How can that fatherly charitie of the father towards his children be better beſtowed then to binde him more ſtrictly vnto the obedience of the ſeruice of God;& coniure him by the good & fortune of his poſteritie, not to moue him to anger? Now ſithence all the afflictions wee endure come from the hand of Prouidence;they happen to vs iuſtly, they happen to vs wholſomely, though oftentimes we doe not apprehend the cauſe,& foreſee not the end. Neuertheleſſe, we are bound to ſubmit our ſelues gently to it; and honour by our patience, and humble ſilence, this holy iudgement that hath ordained it ſo.

For as in the ſacrifices of *Eleuſine*,as reports *Clemens Alex.*the Nouices,and ſuch as were initiated,lay all a longvpon the ground till the ſeruice was ended:euen ſo in this great Temple of the world,during the ſacrifice,we are bound to doe perpetually vnto eternall wiſedome, in the contemplation of his workes: wee haue no countenance that is ſo comely as humilitie, the cogniſance of his greatneſſe and our baſeneſſe; of his might and power,& of our infirmitie & weakneſſe; of his wiſedome and our temerie; of his goodneſſe,and of our peruerſitie. Let vs obey then his ordinance,whether our Citty,for her old age and fraile feebleneſſe be to fall downe on the ground, and obey the common law of created things: whether that by the reuolution and viciſſitude of humane affaires, the honour and magnificence ſhe hath enioyed ſo long, bee to paſſe into another place, and bee

transferred elſe-where : whither the end of all ages doth approach, and that the common ruine that is to ouer-whelme all the parts of the earth doth ſhake vs firſt, and beginne by vs, what ſhe is to ſpread ouer all : or whether (and this is it which I feare moſt) that God will puniſh all at once, ſo many treaſons, falſhoods, murthers, poyſonings, adulteries, inceſts, blaſphemies, and hypocriſies, that our Cittie hath hatched a while ſince, and ſpecially within this thirtie yeares : Let vs ſubmit our ſelues to his will; let vs follow cheerefully ſo wiſe a Captaine, and that loueth vs ſo much. If he leadeth vs to blowes, he leadeth vs to glorie : if it bee onely by wounds, they ſhall be honourable : if by death, it ſhall bee happy, ſo that we vndergoe it in his ſeruice. Let vs therefore embrace conſtancie, and let vs ſtand vpright on the ſteppes of our dutie, making head ſtill againſt aduerſitie. Our ouerthrow ſhall bee our victorie, the blowes that ſhall light vpon vs, ſhall ſettle and ſtrengthen vs the more: wee ſhall wearie and aſtoniſh the ciuill by our confidence, like vnto that moſt renowned *Callimachus*, in the battell of *Marathon*; which being ſhot through with an infinite number of Arrowes, ſtood vpright, ſuſtained, and vpheld by the ſame Darts which had killed him : and euen ſtarke dead frighted the Barbarians, that deemed him immortall, in regard ſo many blowes and hurts could not make him fall.

The afflictions that are borne conſtantly, and with the counterpoyſe of reaſon, doe maintaine vs ſtraight and ſtrong : and whereas without them, we

ſhould

ſhould bow too much to the earth, they ſet vs vp againe, and lift vs vp to heauen. For wee haue nothing that giueth vs ſo ſure a teſtimonie of the immortalitie of our ſoules, and a glance more euidently of the hope of eternall life, then the courage that is infuſed into vs by conſtancie; which exhorting vs to braue and generous actions, and vnto patience, ſeemeth forthwith to propoſe vnto vs the reward, and giue vs a ſecret feeling of the place, where we ought to expect it. Which is not in this wretched and mortall world, wherein all is full of miſerie and pouertie: and wherein (as the Greeke Poet ſaith) Calamitie walketh continually ouer mens heads. But aboue in heauen in a permanent Cittie, that is the true and naturall dwelling place of the ſoule, and the harbour, where after the raging waues and ſtormes of this world ſhe is to enter, and reſt eternally, full of ioy, pleaſure, and contentment, ſuch as may affoord her the infinitely happy obiect, and the bleſſed fruition of all beauties and bounties, drawne out of their firſt and pureſt Originall.

There ended *Orpheus* his Diſcourſe: but though he held his peace, we hearkned to him ſtill, thinking that our ſilence ſhould inuite him to continue; for we could not forgoe the great deſire wee had to heare him. Hee roſe firſt, and wee after, ſore againſt our will.

Then *Muſæus* ſaid; I expected, when you began to touch this laſt conſolation, of the hope we ought to haue in the life to come, that you would rehearſe vnto vs ſome thing, out of the Diſcourſe I haue heard

heard you tell in times past, that that godly ancient man, who held the first place in our Senate of France, in whose behauiour shined French loyaltie and sincéritie, so deerely beloued and honoured of vs all, vsed vnto them that visited him the day before hee deceased. It is almost eight yeeres since he dyed, and the good fortune of *France* with him. I tooke so great pleasure in that little which you told vs then, that I haue been desirous to entreate you, to rehearse it vnto me all ouer. I told you, answered he, as much as as I knew of it, for I came but at the end of his discourse, but here is *Linus*, that was all that day long withhim, who can satisfie your desire. It is worthy of another afternoones discourse, keepe it till to morrow.

The end of the second Booke.

BRITISH
6 AU 89
MUSEUM

LINVS:
OR
THE THIRD BOOKE OF CONSTANCIE.

LONDON,
Printed by *Bernard Alsop.* 1622.

BRITISH MUSEUM

TO THE RIGHT WORTHY AND GENEROVS SIR OWEN SMITH KNIGHT.

VErtue is an obiect that euery man lookes vpon and admires: whence it comes, that those which are endowed with it, are most sought after by all manner of people, as being the maine pillars of ciuill life and humane societie. Which oneely occasion enduced me to tender vnto your acceptance this litle Pamphlet, as to one vpon whom Nature hath prodigally bestowed many rare gifts, which with a sparing hand she keepes from other men. Wherein if I may be so happie as to get your approbation, and that you will be pleased to receiue it with your accustomed humanitie and courtesie, it will obliege me to continue all my life time, as I am,

your humble seruant

ANDREVV COVRT.

LINVS,
OR
THE THIRD BOOKE OF CONSTANCY.

I Haue heretofore held no better then an old wiues Tale that which *Homer* writeth, of thoſe that ſaile towards the *Lotophages*; that they are ſo takē with the *Lotos*, that is a pleaſant & delicious fruit, that they care no more for their countrey, and loſe the deſire to returne vnto it. But amuſing vpon it a while agoe, I began to coniecture, that the Authour by this Fable would, as by myſterie of ancient wiſedome, giue to vnderſtand, that the Phyloſophers which dwelt in thoſe parts, entertained men that came thither, with ſuch ſweete and pleaſant diſcourſes, that they cauſed them to forget their proper and particular affections, by the contemplation of diuine and celeſtiall things. Which I iudged by example eaſie to be performed: for I haue found my mind ſo allured, and eaſed by the two laſt afternoones, that I had no other care nor deſire, but to entertaine thoſe honeſt men, and enioy at full their ſweete company and delightful conſolation. I vow to you, after I had heard them, me thought my Fortune was altered, and euen as *Cenens* of a Girle was turned to a boy; ſo of faint-

hearted I was become constant and couragious, and of miserable, almost happy. So powerfull is an eloquent discourse, with good reasons, to change our opinions, and with our opinions, our passions. I beleeue that euen as in Musicke, those that sing haue as much, or more pleasure, then those that hearken vnto it: so these wise men receiued as much contentment by this conference, as my selfe: for they came all againe the next day, euen before the houre; so that vsing no ceremonies, we placed our selues as we were before. Then quoth I to *Linus*, *Orpheus* engaged you yesterday to rehearse vnto vs now the last words that were vttered by that famous man, whom wee loued so much during his life, and bemoaned after his death, vnto his friends before his decease. I see that you are disposed to doe it; but me thinkes you should escape at too easie a rate if you affoorded this company nothing but your memorie alone. Wee deserue for the friendships sake, wherewithall you are pleased to honour vs, that you bestow vpon vs something of your owne inuention. It is true indeede, that the discourse which *Orpheus* hath promised wee should haue from you, is a faire peece, that might bee verie fitly ioyned vnto that he told vs of Prouidence. Neuertheless, seeing I am here, like a sicke man among Physitians, beare a little with mee in this; and before you take this matter in hand, I pray you let mee haue your opinion in some things, that are come into my minde since I heard *Orpheus*, and then you shall goe on with that as it shall please you, which we desired of you yesterday.

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The diſcourſe that you bring is ſo faire, that I aſſure my ſelfe, it will be fit for any place where you will apply it; and perhaps you ſhall finde it will ſerue to reſolue the queſtion I meane to propound now vnto you. I am forced indeed to confeſſe, that that wiſe Prouidence gouerneth all in this worl; that from her ordinance proceede happy and vnhappy euents of affaires, and that there falleth out nothing but iuſtly, euen in the conuerſion of States, and ruine of Citties and Kingdomes. But on the other ſide, it ſeemes vnto me from thence one might inferre, that ſeeing we cannot hinder, or ſtop any thing that is ordained aboue, in vaine doe wee ſtriue againſt the ſtreame: and when wee ſee our State tottering, it is in vaine wee offer to proppe it vp, it is in vaine we endeauor our ſelues to reſiſt them that vndermine the foundations of it, it is in vaine that wee are troubled to know what ſide wee ſhould follow. Is it not the ſureſt and wiſeſt to take the partie of Deſtinie, and follow Prouidence, when wee know her inclination? or howſoeuer, were it not better for vs to lie ſtill and reſt, then to rowle this ſtone ouer and ouer againe, that will fall at laſt doe what we can. I haue ſeene certainly the wiſeſt of our age much troubled about it, ſeeing the iuſter ouerthrowne by the ſtronger partie. Some haue with an vndanted courage, withſtood whatſoeuer ſeemed iniuſt vnto them, and euen as of purpoſe wrought their owne ruine by it. Some others like vnto Marriners haue tacked about, when they could not go ſtraight forward; and going aſide, auoyded the dangers

which

which they thought impoſſible to ſhun without ſhipwracke.

I would deſire to know of you, which of the two we ought rather to imitate: and if we ſee the ſtriuing of Vertue againſt Violence, to proue vnprofitable to the publike, and hurtfull to our ſelues; whether wee ought to forſake all publike actions, and withdraw vs wholly from buſineſſe; or whether Vertue ought euen amidſt the greateſt ſtormes keep on her courſe, and rather ſuffer her ſelfe to bee ouerwhelmed then to goe backe; or whether there bee euer a a middle path betweene an obſtinate auſteritie, and a ſhamefull ſeruitude, by the which an innocent prudence may bee ſaued harmeleſſe from theſe ciuill broyles, and craged cliffes, wherewith we are on all ſides enuironed. To the end that doing the Commonwealth ſeruice as farre as we are able, we may paſſe away this mortall life, waiting for the houre wherein we ſhall be called to the next that is immortall. As I ſee, quoth *Linus*, it will be in this, as it is in Princes feaſts; thoſe that entertaine firſt, doe it beſt cheape; the charge and magnificence is euer greater for the laſt. But ſince you come as vnbidden gueſts, and that you take me vnprouided, I ſhall giue you but courſe Fare, which I would not doe at all, were it not rather to giue you ſatisfaction and entertainment, then for any hope I haue to handle worthily ſo troubleſome a ſubiect, being no manner of wayes prepared for it. I haue beene in the like opinion my ſelfe heretofore, as you are now; and it ſeemed wiſer and ſa[illegible] to me in the beginning to yeeld vnto Violence, and giue way, as you ſay, to Deſtinie. Becauſe it is labour loſt

to

to be vexed for a thing you deſpaire to obtaine. It is hope onely that giueth life and heart to our trauell. He were not onely a foole, but worſt then mad, that ſhould hope to preuaile againſt Prouidence. But as it fals out commonly, that thoſe obiects wee ſee a farre off, appeare otherwiſe then they are when wee come neere: euen ſo ſearching narrowly into this propoſition, which at the firſt ſight ſeemed wiſe vnto me, yea, godly & religious; I found it vnaduiſed, nay impious, & perceiued it was nothing elſe but a faint-heartedneſſe, that ſeeketh to withdraw vs from the Sunne, and labour to ſet vs in the ſhaddow and at reſt. Which ſhe doth with ſuch pretences, as are eaſie to be diſcouered by any one that will boldly draw the Curtaine, and behold the plaine and naked truth. Why ſhould wee ſay, wee ought to bee idle in the time of publike calamitie, leſt wee ſhould oppoſe our ſelues againſt Prouidence and Deſtinie? There is a Prouidence; it is true: there is a Deſtinie; I beleeue it, and we cannot hinder their effects. But I pray you, how doe we know what Prouidence is minded to doe? How can wee gueſſe at the intent of her counſels? By how much ſhee is certaine and vnchangeable in her will; by ſo much are wee vncertaine and ignorant what is her will. God hath couered Time to come with a thicke cloud, that cannot bee pierced with the eyes of our weake vnderſtanding. Wiſely indeede, and happily for vs. For if man had beene ſure of the good fortunes that are to befall him, it would haue made him ſo vnquiet, and he would haue carried ſo high a minde, that hee could not haue beene kept within the bounds of

his obedience. And on the other ſide, the certaintie of future euils, would haue driuen him into ſuch a perplexitie, and brought him downe ſo low, that hee could not haue beene cheered vp by any meanes poſſible.

Seeing then that future things are ſo vncertaine, and that our hopes and feares beguile vs alike; what aſſurance can wee take to reſolue our ſelues, for feare of time to come, to forſake our preſent dutie? God is reſolued, will wee ſay, to ruine our Towne, wee ſee many ſignes of it. There is a number of ambitious and wicked men, that turne vpſide downe all Order, Lawes, and politicke Gouernment; I will let them alone, for I cannot withſtand them. O faint and cowardly ſpeech! who made you ſo wiſe in a little time, and acquainted you with Gods counſels to vnderſtand his deſignes? Hath not the vncertaintie of humane things taught vs yet, how thoſe wee eſteeme ſureſt, are ſooneſt ouerthrowne; and thoſe wee thinke ready to fall, are ſet vp againe, and ſtrengthened on a ſodaine? And though we were ſure that we were not able to ſaue our countrey, ſhould wee forſake it for all that? Wee doe not forſake thoſe that are ſtricken with incurable diſeaſes. It is no ſmall ſmatter, in my opinion, to make death gentle and eaſie to them which cannot auoyde it, and giue them lenitiue remedies, when others can doe no good. There is a kinde of comelineſſe in dying handſomely, and they eſteeme it a friendly office to cloſe vp their friends eyes, and lay all the parts of their bodie in a decent and orderly poſture at their death.

Though

Though wee were not able to doe any more; why ſhould not we yeeld this laſt office vnto our country? And farre leſſe ought wee to forſake it in great commotions, ſeditions, and publike calamities; the malady can neuer bee ſo deſperate that wee ought to deſpaire of recouery. But the difficulteſt thing to be reſolued on in ſuch a caſe, is, whether we be bound neceſſarily to take the better and iuſter partie, and follow it; or keepe our ſelues quiet in that wherein wee are engaged, expecting opportunitie of working the reconciliation of both; and bring thoſe that haue ſtrayed from their dutie, to the acknowledgement of their fault. For it is not a queſtion to be asked; whether wee ought to further and helpe the partie wee know to be vniuſt, but onely by thoſe that haue neither Vertue nor Conſcience. The Law of *Solon* ſeems vnto me very prudent and wiſe; which ordained, that in ciuill diuiſions euery one ſhould preſently chuſe his ſide; becauſe of two factions, the one being ſtill in the wrong, and that offers iniury to the other: the ſubiect is inexcuſable, that forſaketh the party of the lawes and publike welfare, to become a ſpectatour of the ruine of his countrey.

But mee thinkes that ſhould bee vnderſtood of the beginning of troubles, which are eaſie to bee appeaſed at their firſt birth. Now if the Prince, or he that gouerneth vnder his authoritie, ſuffereth this venome of ſedition to ranckle ſo farre; that the faction becomes ſo powerfull, that it ſeizeth vpon the State or Cittie we are in; and that going foorth wee can doe no other good, but onely giue a teſtimony of our good will to the Prince, or the publike.

I thinke in ſuch a caſe, there are many reaſons can excuſe vs for ſtaying behind, though we ſhould deem the faction vniuſt that gouerneth. The firſt is Neceſſitie, when we are kept in by force; for that hath no Law. The ſecond is a common Law of the affaires of the world, that wiſheth vs to yeeld vnto force when it is once eſtabliſhed. As Vertue commandeth vs to wiſh for good things: ſo it giueth vs counſell to beare thoſe which happen againſt our will, and euen abate ſome thing of the loue we owe to the State, & of our dutie to the Lawes, leſt we ſhould raſhly caſt away our ſelues. And who can thinke this ſtrange, ſince that ſeuere and incorruptible *Cato* iudged, it ſhould be ſo; when as departing from *Siracuſe* to goe to *Pompey*, he wiſhed the *Sicilians* to be obedient to *Cæſar*, who had made himſelfe maiſter of *Italie*.

The third, when our goods and meanes are in the place of our abode, and that going forth, we ſhould fall into an extreme pouerty. For though pouerty is not a ſufficient excuſe to cauſe vs to commit an ill deed: yet the feare of it ought to excuſe vs in ſome kinde, if wee doe not performe whatſoeuer the rigour of the Law can expect at our hands. And ſpecially in this ſeaſon, where good men can get neither reliefe nor fauour, but from their purſe: and wherein pouertie, and thoſe that are moleſted with that diſeaſe, are ſhunned of all the world, as if they were infected with the plague. But the moſt lawfull excuſe in ſuch accidents, is for thoſe which find thẽſelues tied & bound neere to their old or ſickely parents, or neere vnto a wife, and a number of children. Pietie, and naturall affection releaſeth vs of many things

things againſt the rigour of the Law.

And though the Law ſaith; That for the quarrell of our Countrey, we muſt ſpare neither Parents nor Children, and that it ſeemes it would purpoſely infringe the right of Nature; yet it muſt be vnderſtood, when as forſaking thoſe that we are neerely bound vnto by Charitie; we may doe ſome ſeruice, and performe ſome thing that counteruaileth ſo much vnto publike pietie, as it offendeth the Domeſticall.

Theſe conſiderations haue kept, as you ſee, amongſt vs many honeſt men, that are ſore grieued to ſee this miſerable confuſion; and which had wiſhed rather then any thing in the world, to haue beene out of it, if they had thought the publike would haue reaped any commoditie thereby. But they deemed it not fitting for them to forſake their friends, vnto whom their preſence was very neceſſarie heere, to goe and bee chargeable to the Prince that called them away. Now being imbarked in this ſhip, as ſome of vs are, bearing publike offices to their great miſchiefe, we haue beene forced (to ſpeake truly) to diſſemble, and let paſſe many pittifull things againſt the Lawes of the State, and the dutie of our places. I haue often reaſoned with my ſelfe, whether wee ought not vpon ſuch occaſions, to withſtand the euill with an vndaunted courage, and euen in ieopardie of our liues, plead the cauſe of Iuſtice. After I had ſeene ſome to vndoe themſelues by it; I found truer he ſaying of an Ancient, That Prudence is the beginning of all Vertues, that ſhe ought to goe before as an Vſher, and make way for the others: and

where ſhee is wanting, they are no better then blind; and the more they haſten and endeauour themſelues, ſo much the ſooner doe they ſtumble, and hurt not onely themſelues, but thoſe alſo they fall vpon. Therefore whatſoeuer wee vndertake, after wee haue conſidered, whether the end of it bee iuſt and lawfull; wee muſt examine what meanes wee haue to bring it to paſſe, and not vndoe our ſelues to no purpoſe. And when we haue not the meanes to performe whatſoeuer the publike welfare doth expect at our hands, ſtriue induſtriouſly to do the beſt we can.

Now I beleeue that in this pittifull caſe wherein wee are fallen, good men could doe no more to acquit themſelues of their dutie: but diuert by gentle and faire meanes, many cruell and dangerous practiſes, and retard and ſlacken cunningly the courſe of Violence, which they could not altogether ſtop. For as thoſe which haue giuen ouer themſelues vnto Nouelties, and proſtituted their wits to ſerue other mens paſſions, are inexcuſable before God and men: So I doe not accompt them worthy of praiſe, who ſeeing Force and Violence ſetled, haue beene vndone by their owne ſeeking. Into what caſe ſoeuer our countrey falleth, it auayleth much there ſhould bee vertuous men, who ſo preſerue their reputation as not to be eſteemed auerſe from the common people, to the end that occaſions being offered to giue good counſell, they may performe it: and with a gracious and dreadleſſe hand ſearch and heale the wounds of ciuill diſſentions. Sometimes a Caſtle

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that holdeth out, affoordeth [meanes to recouer a whole Prouince : and a wiſe and diſcreet Cittizen maintaining his credite in his Cittie, may often occaſion the common tranquilitie. For, as health is reſtored to aſicke body by the meanes of his ſounnd parts, which keepe whole and ſound the principles of life: euen ſo in a towne, Peace and Concord is reeſtabliſhed by the modeſt, and impartiall carriage of a good Cittizen. It is incredible how many admirable and wholeſome effects the very aſpects of thoſe which had the name to bee iuſt and honeſt, and louing the publike good, haue brought foorth among people; but it muſt be in a fit occaſion. It Time that ſeaſoneth Councels. There is a certaine moment in buſineſſe, which if you take not opportunely, all the labours you beſtow about them are in vaine. Which is obſerued ſpecially in them, that haue the managing of the ſpirits of people in commotion. *Marcus Aurelius* the Phyloſopher, ſaith, in a place of the booke ill intituled, His life; that bad opinions are impoſtumes in the minde of man. If they be impoſtumes, wee muſt of neceſſitie let them ripen before we open them: otherwiſe the Yron will cauſe an imflammation, and in ſtead of curing the maladie by the cutting, we ſhall inflame it. We muſt ſpeake the truth; A multitude of people is a ſtrange beaſt : it is a hazardous Trade to vndertake to rule them after they haue once ſhaken off the Yoake of the Lawes; and taken vpon them the cuſtome of libertie, or rather licentiouſneſſe. Thoſe that haue made once triall

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of it, will eſteeme nothing the leſſe of their goods, to ſhun ſuch an inconſiderate madneſſe. But there be certaine things in the world, that are learned onely by experience, which is a deere and dangerous Miſtreſſe. Therfore, he that vpō neceſſitie, or through an honeſt intent of ſuccouring his countrey, ſhall ſuffer himſelfe to be engaged in an vnlawfull faction; can do no more but watch and obſerue all occaſions, to diſpoſe the wils of his fellow Cittizens, to know their owne good, and deſire it. Which he may eaſily do, if he behaueth himſelfe moderately, and ſheweth hee ſeeketh for nothing elſe but their profit, making their minds capable of reaſon by faire words; and bringing them backe by diſcourſe, to that which is right and iuſt. Wherein he muſt immitate wine, which in the beginning by a daintie and delicious taſte, allureth men to drinke it; then being mingled with their blood, heateth by little and little all their body, and ſo it intoxicateth and ouercommeth them. For in a word, you muſt beleeue, that all great affairs are neuer brought to a good end, otherwiſe then by gentleneſſe and patience. Whereof Nature giueth vs a faire inſtruction, producing all things, how great and excellent ſoeuer they be, by an inſenſible motion. And this muſt hee practiſe ſpecially towards thoſe, that are in greater credit and authoritie; becauſe they are as publike fountaines, from whence are drawne the counſels that loſe or ſaue States; the good opinion they conceiue of it, is ſoone ſpread ouer all the others. It auaileth much alſo, when it is vſed towards thoſe that ſpeake ordinarily to the people, becauſe they are the Lymbecke pipes through which are

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diſtilled the affections, wherewithall the vulgar are poſſeſſed, which induce them afterwards to good, or bad actions.

But two things haue hindered good men from comming neere, and hauing acceſſe vnto them. The firſt, that being new and raw men, and experienced in affaires, they were led and carryed away by the opinions of thoſe that had preuented them: & fed commonly vpon vaine hopes, whereon they built Caſtles in the Aire. The other, that is falne out with thē, as they ſay ordinarily; that thoſe that erre by art, erre moſt dangerouſly; for they erre moſt obſtinately, and defend themſelues with Science againſt Reaſon. They endeauoured to bring politicke gouernement, which conſiſteth in a particular prudence, vnder generall rules, and make an vniuerſall Science of it. And ſo applying the rules, where they ſhould haue applyed their exceptions, they peruerted the iudgement of all things. It was good ſport to heare them talke, they did iuſt like vnto bad Mathematicians, who ſuppoſing a right angle, or ſome Geometricall figure, to bee otherwiſe then in truth it is, make thereupon ſeeming demonſtrations of things that are not, and cannot bee at all. For after you haue once granted in arguing any thing that is falſe, they inferre from it ſtrange abſurdities. The forme of arguing of this Time hath beene thus; Such a thing auaileth for the conſeruation of Religion; therefore it muſt bee done. Now the firſt part of the argument which was ſubiect to be denyed and prooued, and moſt commonly was not onely doubtfull, but apparantly falſe,

was euer held for moſt certaine; nay, ſometimes made an Article of faith. The propoſitions that were mooued, were of ſuch a kinde, as ought to haue beene examined with great and mature iudgement, by the example of the effects brought foorth by like affaires, and wherein they ſhould haue confired the times, moments, diſpoſitions of men, and a thouſand other circumſtances.

Neuertheleſſe, thoſe that had neither the experience of things paſt, nor the knowledge of the preſent, haue taken vpon them the authoritie to iudge of them. Vnto all the inconueniences that were ſet foorth vnto them, vnto all the ill ſucceſſes that were foretold them ſhould happen of their wrath and headie counſels; they had no other anſwer, but that God would prouide for it. As if God had been ſet aboue onely to ſecond their paſſions, and frame the reſt of the World to their deſignes; and not they placed here to obſerue the will of God by the diſpoſition of things, and iſſue of affaires, to apply themſelues thereto, and attaine vnto their end; or come as neere as they could by effectuall and ordinary meanes. As ſoone as they perceiued a way ſomewhat long and tedious, they made themſelues wings of waxe, and flew in the Aire, to reach vnto the place where Feare and Deſire drew them. And it accordingly happened, that their wings melted in the Sunne, and they are falne; and falling, haue pulled after them their fellow-Cittizens into a Sea of woe and miſerie.

I would not indeed taxe the intent of all, in regard I haue knowne ſome amongſt them, that were carried

ried away with the zeale of their Religion. But I doubt, whether before God, their meaning ſhall ſerue them for a lawfull excuſe, to haue vndertaken ſo important a charge, whereof they were incapable. For if ciuill Lawes condemne one that taketh vpon him a Trade hee vnderſtands not, and make him anſwer for all the hurt is done by his vnskilfulneſſe; ſhall not thoſe who euen as by force, haue vndertaken the Gouernment, and by their fault caſt vs into ſo many dangers, bee anſwerable for ſo many Deathes, Burnings, Pillages, Rauiſhments, ſo many Sacriledges, ſo many Blaſphemies that proceeded from their bad and giddy counſels. I beſeech God to forgiue them for it: but they are the cauſe of many euils and miſchiefes, and giue vs iuſt occaſion to ſpeake of our State, as an Ancient did of his; The Commonwealth was loſt rather by the remedies that were applyed vnto her, then by her Maladie. But what? You wil ſay; Did good men hold their peace then? why did they not ſtoutly declare their opinion for the good of the Commonwealth? Why did not they withſtand all thoſe idle trickes? Alas there are none troubled in ſuch things, but thoſe that are ingaged in them. Oftentimes ſeeing this miſerable gouernment, and the perplexitie good men were in; I called to minde a Hiſtorie, that happened in our dayes in this Cittie.

It fell out in an honeſt houſe, that an Ape which was kept for ſport, went and tooke a little child out of the Cradle, and carryed it to the top of the houſe: as ſoone as it was ſpyed, the father and mo-

ther ran all amazed, weeping, and not knowing what to doe; for if they had cryed out, and ran after the Ape, it would haue let the child fall downe, which had certainly broke his necke. They ſtood ſtill then without euer a word, looking pittifully all in teares, and quaking for feare what ſhould bee the end of it. It happened, and it was a great gift of God, that the Ape came downe againe ſoftly, and brought the child to the ſame place where it had taken it.

Wee haue beene, and are ſtill frighted in the like manner, and haue ſeene, and ſee yet our Religion, and our poore State in the hands of ſtrange men, and wonderfully raſh and heedleſſe, which play with them, and hold them vp hanging in the Aire at their fingers end, ready to hurle them downe vpon the firſt occaſion of amazement. Would to God at leaſt, but I dare not hope for it, they would doe with vs, as the Ape did with the child, and ſet vs in the ſame place againe where they tooke vs firſt vp. I thinke certainely good men may very well be excuſed, if ſeeing ſuch deere gages in their hands, and the downe right pitch where they had carried them, they looked vpon them a while, and ſaid nothing.

The firſt fault was committed by ſuch as ſuffered them to ſeize aud take hold on the State. The ſecond which is imputed to vs, was but the neceſſary conſequence of the other, as much to be excuſed, as the firſt is to be blamed. Not that I would thereby defend thoſe, which in the ſtrength of the euill, euen through ouer-much feare, did euer leane on that ſide where they ſaw Force and Violence preuaile; for they

they are partly cauſe, that our Euils are growne incurable; and may, with good reaſon, be compared to reeling Burthens in a Shippe, which rowling ſtill on that ſide the Shippe leaneth to, when a Storme comes, cauſe her to bee ouer-turned. There is a meane betweene too much, and too little; there is difference betweene bending, and breaking. As you may doe amiſſe through obſtinacie, and troubleſome ſeueritie; ſo you may dangerouſly offend by ouer-much ſlackneſſe, and conniuence, and by a kinde of fetching a Wind-leſſe about, whereby you forſake altogether Iuſtice, vnder colour of following Prudence. And to ſpeake freely to you, I haue ſeene very many, that caſt themſelues away out of that Window; and going about ſtill, found themſelues in the end as farre from the dutie of a good Citizen, as thoſe that ranne all at once into the miſchiefe; and are fallen as low, ſteppe by ſteppe, as the others that leaped with a full carriere into confuſion. It is very dangerous for them, which haue not the ſtrength and skill to ſtay themſelues when they liſt, to venture downe a ſteepe Hill: it is needfull, that thoſe which forſake the High-way, betaking themſelues to by-Lanes, ſhould know the Countrey well, otherwiſe they may be bewildered very eaſily.

Neuertheleſſe, becauſe this Prudence, that yeeldeth gently vnto that which ſhee cannot ouercome, may ſerue in many ſuch chances, as thoſe that are befallen vs, when ſhee is vſed with iudgement, and moderation, I will tell you what bounds I would ſet her. Firſt, neuer to diſſemble in the beginning of Commotions, nor conſent to any thing vniuſt, or againſt

the Lawes, how little soeuer it might be. Contrariwise, I would withstand, euen by maine force, as long as it were possible, as long as the chance is common, and that there is hope, and likelyhood, that by venturing, Reason may haue the vpper hand. It is a great errour wherewith many men are besotted, to thinke, that one must venture nothing in a State. Often, for not hazarding while wee are strong, wee are brought to that push, wee must hazard when wee are weake; and make that afterwards very doubtfull, which was but a little hazardous in the beginning. Fortune (if wee may speake so) will not haue vs thinke, wee can settle all things by Prudence; there are many things where shee will haue a share, and haue the thankes of the issue to be due vnto her. But the chiefest thing, is to haue the right on your side: Which being done, with all the considerations and aduantages that may be taken, put it to a tryall, and commit all vnto the Soueraigne Power of God, which giues such issue to affaires as hee pleaseth. If things are so farre gone, and stand vpon so bad termes, that Violence ouerthroweth the Lawes, and Force carryeth it away from Iustice; I would neuer for all that, consent to an vniust thing, except it were to auoid a farre worse, and more vniust, that should otherwise happen thereby.

Now the Rule that I would wish to bee kept in this case, is, That in this comparison of Euills, and feare of worse, wee should neuer reckon our owne particular interest, to compare it with the publike: For hee which for feare of the priuate Euill wherewith hee is threatned, makes himselfe Author, or Instrument

ſtrument of the publike calamitie, hath nothing that can excuſe him. But wee muſt examine with care, and prudence, whether this greater Euill wee feare ſhould befall the publike, cannot be auoyded otherwiſe. If it cannot, in that caſe wee muſt compound with Violence, that is, doe the ſame which they doe at Sea in a ſtorme, caſt away part of the Wares, to ſaue the reſt. It is very ſeldome, that thoſe which gouerne diſturbed States, are troubled to chuſe of two goods the beſt; but often to picke out of two Euils the leaſt, Good is not iudged to be ſo, but in compariſon of the worſe. Therefore an extreme ſeueritie were not fit for ſuch occaſions, and would rather kindle then ſmother the furie of vnruly people. Wee may then (perhaps) imitate the Sunne, which indeed goes alwaies from Eaſt to Weſt; but winding about, ſometimes towards the North, ſometimes towards the South, leſt if he kept ſtill vnder the ſame line, he ſhould drie vp and burne, what he muſt but comfort and gently warme. The good ſubiect ought indeed to haue for his end the publike welfare, and the Iuſtice whereon it depends: but when the ordinary way cannot bring them to it, hee muſt betake himſelfe to the eaſieſt and moſt commodious. Hee ſhould vndertake the conſeruation of his countrey in vaine, if he were to caſt it away by the remedies, wherewith he meaneth to ſaue it: for affaires and counſels are meaſured ſpecially by the end. There is, in my opinion, as much as a good ſubiect may doe in publike.

In priuate, the ſeaſon affoordeth him many faire occaſions of doing well. He muſt firſt comfort his kinſ-

kinnsfolkes, his friends, his neighbours, and thereafter as the degrees of affection binde him moſt to euery one; aſſiſt and incourage them, aduiſe them in their buſineſſe, keepe them from being wronged by other men, ſuccour them in their neceſſities accor- to his meanes. Let him riſe early, and goe to bed as late as he will, the day will neuer be long enough to fulfill all the offices, vnto the which other mens miſerie ſhall call him. Let him lay his hand in any place where he pleaſeth, hee ſhall finde a wound to dreſſe; this pittifull and miſerable time leaueth nothing whole and ſound. It is his ſiſters widdowshood will call him one way, his brothers loſſe of children another; the robbery done to his friend ſhall put him on this ſide, the impriſonment of his kinsman, or the danger of his neighbour on the other: he ſhall ſooner finde a place voyde of aire here then of calamitie. But he ſhall haue employment enough for his Vertue within his owne houſe, wherein he may performe the dutie of a good Cittizen. For who is he ſo happy, that hath not beene touched during this time with a thouſand ſorts of afflictions? who hath not felt the venomous teeth of detraction? or whom haue not the ſquinting eyes of enuy looked vpon? or that that the publike robbery hath not hit; and that howſoeuer hath not beene bereaued of his goods by the deſolation of the countrey, and ſent way naked, as a man eſcaped from a ſhipwracke? It is here where one muſt ſhew himſelfe a man, and make appeare, that Vertue doth not conſiſt in words', but in braue and generous reſolutions. It is needfull firſt for the good Cittizen to beare patiently his afflictions, iudging

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well and religiously of diuine Prouidence, without the which, as you heard, nothing happeneth in this world, acknowledging his misfortune to be his iust share and portion of humane societie: vnto whose common euill he ought to participate, as hee hath done, and should also haue his share of the good if it happened.

Secondly, I desire that this patience should not be setled only in his heart, but euen it should shine on his forehead; as well to beare an honourable testimony vnto Vertue, and shew what she can doe against misfortune; as to be in stead of a faire and cleere mirrour, on which his fellow Cittizens compose and dresse their actions, as by an excellent perfect patterne. It is at all times a thing worthy of prayse, to serue his for an example of doing well: but it is a thing very beneficiall and profitable in a time full of trouble and calamitie, to be an example vnto them of patience. As the first happinesse is to auoyd euill; so the second is to beare it constantly. But I will not vndertake here to set forth the reasons which moue vs to this constancy, that perswade vs, yea that inforce vs to it, if we will continue to be men. That which *Musæus* and *Orpheus* haue spoke of it before me, is more then sufficient. Neuertheless, if all reasons were to be weighed, I should thinke that which remained behind, and which *Orpheus* did but point at, should carry it away before all the others. For those which are once fully perswaded, that death is but a passage to a better life, should neuer feare it. Now if death, beyond which reach neither the Empire of Fortune, nor the threats of the Lawes, frigh-

teth them not; what ſhall the iniuries and threates of men do, that are but the hands of Fortune, and the inſtruments of the Lawes? And contrariwiſe, thoſe which beleeue it not, what precepts may one giue them? or what reaſons alledge that may comfort them in their calamities? for though you ſhew them that afflictions befall vs by a common right, by the Law of Nature, and not by the iniury of that ſuppoſed Fortune; and that nothing happeneth but by the ordinance of diuine Prouidence; that healeth not the wound they receiue in their hearts, to ſee that innocency is a ſubiect of miſerie and torment. If you make them ſee nothing, but that ſpace that is incloſed betweene their birth and their death, as within two bounds; I doe not ſee why they ſhould forſake the pleaſures of the world, to diſturbe their life with that harſh and bitter Vertue. I ſee no reaſon why man ſhould not be offended with Nature, for making him the moſt wofull & wretched creature of all thoſe the Sunne beholdeth; and laugh Vertue to ſcorne, that ſetteth forth ſo many toyles and labours without any reward.

Wee haue (ſaith *Plato*) two great Demons, which put vs forward and backeward in our actions; Reward and Puniſhment. Now I doe not ſee how wee can finde them in this world, wherein for the moſt part, the good are afflicted, and the wicked are comforted. Wee muſt then ſet our hopes further, and cauſe them to paſſe beyond the bouuds of this ſhort and wretched life; and know that death is the firſt of all our true goods, and the beginning of our happineſſe & felicitie. Man is not onely mortall

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as one ſaith, to the end there might be an end for his miſerie, and that the good may be praiſed without enuy, and the wicked blamed without feare; that riches may be deſpiſed, as vnprofitable after it: but ſpecially to this end, that the good may be eternally happie, and the wicked vnhappie. That is the conſolation which doth allay our labours, and feedeth our patience with the hope, or rather aſſurance of a life eternall, and without bound, that waiteth for vs at our departure from hence. Whereupon would to God wee could meditate euery day, euery houre, and euery moment: wee ſhould finde in this meditation a ſufficient comfort to our aduerſitie, and a comely moderation in our proſperities. But alas! We keepe backe our thoughts from it as much as wee can; and which is worſt, many beleeue it not at all, and could wiſh willingly to be no more after death, leſt they ſhould be as they deſerue. They doe what they can, to cauſe their ſoule to die with their body, and goe and borrow reaſons of ancient Phyloſophers, to deny and ouerthrow the onely ſcope, the onely reward, and the laſt end of Phyloſophy. As for me, I thinke they are puniſhed enough with their malitious opinion; that taketh out of their hands, the chiefeſt hope that aſſwageth and ſeaſoneth this tart and bitter life; and could willingly ſay, they ſhould euen ſuffer them to be ſo miſerable, ſince they are willing to be ſo.

But it ſeemeth that you haue layd a charge vpon me, to vpbraid them with their errour, and condemne them by their owne reaſons. For you could

not preſcribe vnto mee vpon any other occaſion to finiſh this diſcourſe, with the recitall of the laſt words of that good ancient man, but onely thereby to conuict them of their blindneſſe by the light of ſo rare a wiſedome. As for you, I know you deſire neither proofe nor explanation of this point; you, I ſay, that beleeue it not only, affirme, and publiſh it; but euen make it the Preface and concluſion of all your ſpeeches, and of all your actions. So that the diſcourſe of it would bee but vnprofitable, and troubleſome to you, without you be accuſtomed to vſe it, as the *Egyptians* did their Sceletos; and that you cannot riſe from the table without you heare ſome talke of the immortalitie of the ſoule, no more then they of the death of the body. Or perhaps as the memory of this man is very deere vnto you, you deſire to renew it with the remembrance of ſo faire an end. I will rehearſe then, as neere as I can, what hee told vs vpon this ſubiect, the day before God tooke him from hence, as from vnder the ruine of this State.

This goodly ancient man had ſpent all his life in the Palace, being then threeſcore and fifteene yeeres old. He had ſeene many cõmotions in this kingdome that had diſturbed the quiet of it: but hee had ſeene none yet that threatned the ruine and diſſipation of the State. The king hauing ſent for him from his houſe of *Celi*, vpon weighty and and important affaires, and which concerned the broyles that haue ſo much vexed vs ſince: and hee hauing by the conſideration of this buſineſſe foreſeene the miſeries that were like to come vpon vs, conceiued great melancholy thereby; inſomuch that this ſorrow ouer-

ouercomming his health, weakened already by age, hee fell ſicke vpon it. During the time of his ſickneſſe, hee was viſited by the moſt famous men of the Towne; and becauſe I was his neighbour, and that I loued and honoured him much, I went thither often. The day before hee died, a great number of Learned men being about him, and finding himſelfe more at quiet then hee was wont to be, many diſcourſes and queſtions were mooued, ſpecially about the condition of good men, that were called to great Places; which is almoſt euer wretched, their Vertue being rewarded with Rage and Enuy, for the ſweeteſt Recompences; and Iniuries and Wrongs for the moſt vſuall. Some one chanced to ſay, That yet the Religion wee were brought vp in, gaue vs much aduantage vpon the Ancients, propoſing to vs the remuneration of our Labours in the life to come, and letting vs know, that the beſt part of vs out-liueth our Body; nay, that euen our Body doth rot, and putrifie, to ſpring out and be renewed one day in a happier life, wherein Vértue ſhal receiue the Crowne ſhee hath deſerued. Whether the others, which had no knowledge but by the gloomie light of Nature, could not reach, nor ſtretch their hopes any further then Death; nor conſequently, haue any other comfort but that of this World, which certainely is very ſmall. This good Lord rayſing his head from the Pillow, and leaning on his Elbow: I did (quoth he) entertaine my ſelfe ſome part of the Night with this Subiect, and after long muſing vpon it, I concluded, That the ſtrongeſt and moſt certaine comfort wee can take, is the aſſurance of a ſecond, and

more happy Life. And though our Faith giueth it vs, and that the Spirit of God hath ſpecially reuealed it vnto vs; yet I doe not beleeue, the ancient Philoſophers haue beene ignorant of it, and that ſo much Vertue as they had, did want this conſolation; vnleſſe they haue reiected it, when as Nature with her owne hand hath offered it them. And I thinke, if I could rehearſe vnto you all that ran in my minde this Night about it, you would confeſſe it to bee ſo. Then framing his countenance, and ſpeech, according as hee was wont to doe, when hee intended to continue a Diſcourſe, wee prepared our ſelues alſo with a great ſilence to heare him, and hee proceeded much after this manner.

Amongſt all the things of the World, in the knowledge of whom wee may erre, there is none whoſe ignorance is more pernicious, and hurtfull, then that of the eſtate of our Soules, after this frayle and mortall life; for thence is deriued a perplexed anxietie, and miſerable vnquietneſſe: which is the cauſe, that men finding nothing happy in this world, and looking for no certaintie after it, thinke they are ſent hither as to a fatall Torment, wherein they muſt liue, and die in griefe and calamitie. They hate Life, and feare Death; and leaſt they ſhould fall into what they feare, they take what they deſpiſe. As *Vlyſſes* did in *Homer*, who to ſaue himſelfe from drowning, embraced a wilde Figge-tree; not for any loue hee bore vnto it, but for feare, that forſaking it, hee ſhould fall into *Charybdis*, which hee ſaw vnder him. Contrariwiſe, thoſe which are fully perſwaded, that the Soule is here but in Pilgrimage, on the way to a more

more happy place, trifle not away the time, in complayning of Thornes and Brambles, that ſcratch them as they goe by; nor in gathering and making Noſe-gayes with the Flowers they finde: but being carryed away with a liuely ardour, to finde ſuch a reſting place, they ruſh through, and neglect whatſoeuer they meete; ſo much excepted, as is needefull for their Voyage.

Now I will neuer beleeue, that this ordinary power of God, which is commonly called Nature, which in all other things hath beene ſo propitious to men, hath denyed them at any time the knowledge of that which was moſt neceſſarie for their good, and to get the perfection of their being. Rather I will thinke, that thoſe which denyed this immortalitie, bee of that number, which the Word of God, pronounced by Saint *Paul*, declareth inexcuſable, in regard they had the degrees of things viſible, ſufficient, and able to reach to the intuiſible, if they had not imployed them rather to deſcend, then to aſcend. Ambitious people to their owne ruine! which haue taken away force from the diſcourſe, which might haue made them happy, to giue it vnto that which will make them vnhappy. It ſeemeth vnto me it were enough to confound them, to bring forth againſt them the common opinion of all the Nations of the World; which, what Age ſoeuer they liued in, what part of the Earth ſoeuer they did inhabite, what Manners and Cuſtomes ſoeuer they obſerued, haue layd this Beleefe for a foundation of all their Actions, Ciuill Gouernments, and Societies, That their Soule ſurviued their Bodyes, and was not ſubiect to death.

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Otherwiſe, why ſhould they haue Deified the moſt famous men amongſt them, and ordayned ſo many honourable Ceremonies to their Memories? The *Indians* and *Druides* were eſteemed the wiſeſt of all the ancient Heathens, which more deepely ſearched into the Boſome of Nature, and purchaſed the higheſt Secrets of Wiſdome. They had ſo certaine a knowledge of this Immortalitie, that they ran headlong vnto this corporall Death, that is the entrance thereof, and did chearefully embrace all honourable occaſions that could bring them to it.

This Opinion hath wrought diuerſe effects in diuerſe Nations; but euery one hath had it. And if any may be excepted, which beleeued the contrary; when as they came to frequent and reſort vnto others, they held againe the ſame Opinion. Which ſheweth plainely, that this Beleeſe is bred with man, and therefore it is naturall, right, and true. For the Vniuerſall Nature, that is not corrupted by our particular Vice, doth not put in our minde any other, but ſound and pure Opinions. As ſhee guideth our Appetite, and that of other Creatures, onely to ſuch Meates as are fit to nouriſh them; ſo ſhee doth not incline our Vnderſtanding to any thing elſe, but to comprehend the Truth, and to conſent and yeeld vnto it, as to his true Obiect, and Foode; which being repreſented to it, accommodates it ſelfe preſently, euen as an Image is fitted to the Mould it was firſt caſt vpon. But for as much as thoſe men deſpiſe for the moſt part Popular Iudgements, and thinke Truth dwelleth not amongſt the Vulgar, and beleeue rather that Nature hath buried it very deepe in the ground,

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where it must be found with the Diuine Rod of Philosophy, and draw it out with the labour of a great and painefull Meditation; let vs put backe whole Nations, and bring forth onely such as haue got the glory in all Ages to be the wisest and most learned: *Pythagoras*, *Solon*, *Socrates*, *Plato*, *Aristotle*, and such a number of others, that to name them all, one had neede to haue as much time, as it is since they liued; haue not onely left vs a testimonie of their Beleefe in the memorie of men, but euen deliuered it in writing. Yea, they haue set this Maxime of the Immortalitie of the Soule, as the Center of Philosophie, where met and ended all other Rules, and whatsoeuer else could bee introduced honest and wholesome for the conseruation of Ciuill Life; and specially for that part they haue so much laboured about, which they call the Tranquillitie of the Soule.

If there were any doubt in that matter, yet the testimonie of such men, so well agreeing in it, should haue cleared it, and ought to reduce vnto this Opinion those that esteeme them so much; which ought to suffer themselues to bee ouercome by the authoritie of those great Naturallists, seeing that euen doing so, they better their condition. But industrious to their owne Euill, to make voyde the authoritie of those great men, they say, they regard nothing but Reason, which they will separate from the persons, to the end they may weigh them all pure, and that Truth be not in this Question ballanced, or suppressed by the weight of the Name or Fame of any one. Therefore they would binde

this Diſcourſe to Schoole-Rules, and deſire wee ſhould prooue by demonſtration, what wee would haue them to beleeue. They would willingly bee led, euen by the Sences, vnto the knowledge of that which is propounded them; or, at leaſt, gather our Concluſions, for that which wee will perſwade them, out of the Maximes that are collected from the Sences: Too vniuſt and partiall in that, and little conſidering the nature of the matter that is handled. There muſt bee diſcourſing, and diſcuſſing, to know the things, whoſe formes are drowned in the matter. Wee muſt vſe the Sences then, and by the meanes of what wee touch, and ſee, aſcend as by degrees, vnto the intelligence of that which is further from vs. But for one to thinke to vnderſtand the nature of our Soule in this faſhion; it is as much, as not to bee willing to know it: for beeing ſimple, as ſhee is, ſhee muſt come in all naked into our Vnderſtanding, beeing to fill all the place, whatſoeuer ſhee ſhould bring along with her, ſhould hinder her: Euen the feeling of things ſenſible, whoſe ſence is very ſharpe, is done ſo ſuddenly, that wee cannot tell how it is made.

Likewiſe, of things intelligible, thoſe that are altogether pure, ſeize vpon our Vnderſtanding ſo ſpeedily, that you can ſay onely they are, but you are not able to tell how: For they doe not ſeeke for borrowed Teſtimonies, to make themſelues knowne; they open, and manifeſt themſelues better, then any thing elſe that would commend them.

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Therefore, the true way how to know the nature of our Soule, is, to rayſe her vp aboue the Body, and draw her backe vnto her ſelfe; to the end, that by her owne reflection, ſhee may know her ſelfe by her ſelfe. Neuertheleſſe, if there bee any ſo opinionate, that they will not ſee her, but drowned in the Fleſh; and iudge of her Greatneſſe by the ſhadow of her effects, as they doe of the Moone by the ſhadow of the Earth: yet through this dull and heauie Maſſe, wherewithall ſhee is wrapped, ſhee caſteth ſparkes, nay flames, ſo liuely of her Immortalitie, that thoſe which behold her, muſt needes confeſſe, eyther they ſee her, or elſe they are blinde.

They perceiue, that this Beame of Diuine Nature, wrapped in this little Cloud of Fleſh, caſteth its Light from one end of the World to the other. After it hath meaſured that which is limitted, it reacheth to the Infinite, comprehends the formes of all things, and transformeth it ſelfe into them; receiueth Contraries, Fire and Water, Heat and Cold, without alteration or corruption. How then can they ſuppoſe any matter in her, that hath ſuch Actions, ſeeing that all matters is limitted and bounded by certaine Dimenſions; receiueth nothing bigger then it ſelfe, is capable but of one onely ſubſtantiall forme, and cannot containe at one time contrary things? If it be not materiall, how can it bee mortall? Seeing that Death, by their owne ſaying, is nothing elſe but the ſeparation of the matter from the forme. And if, like vnto others, they define it the end of motion;

where ſhall they finde it in the Soule? For wee ſee, that Will, which is her principall part, beeing free, as they acknowledge it themſelues, and hauing conſequently in it ſelfe the Principle of its Motion, who can take it away from her? Seeing that nothing giueth an end vnto it ſelfe voluntarily, that which is mooued after its owne will, ſhall euer moone; and conſequently, ſhall haue no end of Laſting, but onely of Deſire, and Intention, which is limitted onely by Infinitie.

And as for Vnderſtanding, which is the other chiefeſt part, or rather Vertue of the Soule; Doe not wee ſee it goe out of it ſelfe, embrace all things, and then come into it ſelfe againe; and by this continuall reflection, as by a Circular Motion, teſtifie that it hath no end? Which it doth make appeare yet as plainely, by the nature of the Obiects it chuſeth its ordinary exerciſe, and in a manner for its foode and nouriſhment. For it feedeth and entertaineth its ſelfe onely with the knowledge of vniuerſall things, of Ideaes and ſpecies, which Philoſophers deeme vnchangeable and immortall.

The ſences which are corporall inſtruments mingled amongſt corruptible matter, ſtand indeed vpon particular things, and conſider euery obiect according to the weake and momentarie qualities of it: but vnderſtanding which contemplateth the true Nature and Eſſence of things, comprehendeth that which is generall and equally diffuſed in all the particulars and indiuiduals,

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as a firme, permanent, and immutable Being. Now it is needfull that all things which are borne to operate and effect, be proportioned vnto their obiect. In vaine ſhould a workeman labour on a matter harder then his toole; in vaine ſhould you make things mortall and corruptible, to digeſt and vnderſtand things that are incorruptible and immortall. And what? that infatiate deſire of learning, which is naturall to our vnderſtanding, doth it not teſtifie the ſame? Who hath euer ſeene, knowne, or learned ſo much, in whom Science hath not kindled againe, and encreaſed the deſire of knowledge, in ſtead of quenching and appeaſing it? If I had, ſaith an Ancient, a foote in the graue, yet I would learne ſtill. What meaneth that? It is, that the appetite of our ſtomacke may be filled, becauſe Nature hath proportioned it to a limited thing, that is the neceſſarie meate for nouriſhment: but that of our ſoule ſheweth it ſelfe vnſatiable in this world, becauſe ſhe hath proportioned it vnto the eternall Truth; which (being hindered by the body) ſhee cannot enioy freely in this life, hauing nothing elſe giuen her to gather it but the *Danaides* veſſell, that cannot receiue much at once; and yet is piereed in the bottome, with that wretched hole of Forgetfulneſſe, through which runneth out moſt part of that ſhe receiueth.

So that a mans whole life, if you conſider exactly the actions of thoſe which gouerne themſelues by true Reaſon, is nothing elſe, but a ſtriuing and contention of the Soule: which laboureth as much as ſhe can, to repaire that weake mortalitie of the body, by the participation of eternall things, vnto whoſe frui-

tion ſhe drawethhim as much as ſhe can. She would willingly eternize his life, being not able to performe it by Nature; ſhee imployeth Art and Induſtry therein, and procureth him by Glory and Fame, a continuation of life in the memorie of men. And therefore wee ſee her vſually bent, and turned vpon time to come, preuenting with thoughts the time that ſhall be after the death of the body, as wee doe here the next day to that we liue in; and prouiding her ſelfe of Praiſe and glory, as of conuenient ſtore for a happie and glorious life, vnto which ſhe aſpireth. It is too eaſie to iudge, that if our Soule did not foreſee certainly her future being, ſhee would not trouble her ſelfe with any deſignes, that aimed further then this corporall life; and would not howſoeuer to obtaine them, venture ſo freely this temporall life, after which ſhe could expect nothing.

Certainly, thoſe which loſt their liues in ſuch occaſions (and there hath beene infinite in all ages which haue in a manner ſacrificed themſelues vpon the Altar of Glory) did in ſo deſpiſing death, giue an excellent teſtimony of the immortalitie of the Soule. Neither can any one imagine, they haue ſo ſhortned their life, to encreaſe their honour; without they were ſure to enioy it after their death: nor that they haue ſo cheerefully forſaken the pleaſures of this world, without they had ſome good token of the recompence they expected in the other. When the Soule comes to raiſe her ſelfe vpon the wings of a generous deſire, and ſhe paſſeth from this darke and cloudie re-

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gion that compaſſeth the Earth, vnto that higher, purer, and cleerer, that approcheth vnto heauen; ſhee doth obſerue in her ſelfe many faire markes of her being, and ſtreakes of her great Workeman, which created her according to his Image; and hath imprinted therein the figure of his Diuine Eſſence. Which I doe ſay onely, in regard I learned it from the Oracle of Truth; but ſay it after them which learned it onely out of the booke of Nature her ſelfe. For *Plato*, and many before him, and many others, diſcourſing of the creation of the World, and of his parts, haue ſayd indeed, that other creatures were created by the leſſer gods; that is, in my opinion, the Angels, as by ſecond cauſes; which being ſomething remote already from the firſt being, could not perfectly communicate it vnto them. Becauſe this communication is but a loane of their Vertue, ſeparated and diſ-vnited from the firſt Maſſe, and conſequently ſomewhat imperfect. But as for the Soule of man, they confeſſe, God alone created her: and therefore depending without a meane from the perfect Being, ſhe is partaker of his perfection, and is free from corruption in her ſubſtance, and conſequently from death. And certainly it was very reaſonable, and conuenient for that great Architect, that after hee had built this faire peece of worke of the world, worthy to beare the the name of Beautie; ſeeing hee withdrew himſelfe from the ſight of his creatures, hee ſhould leaue behind him his Image, as a liuing Statue, to conſerue & exact frõ thoſe that ſaw her, the honour & reuerence due vnto that ſoueraigne Architect and Lord of the Vniuerſe.

Now

Now it is needfull, that an Image wrought by a good workeman, ſhould haue ſome relation vnto all the parts of the ſubiect it imitateth. Wherein could ſhe imitate the Eternitie of God, but in the immortalitie of her Soule? Seeing ſhe cannot be altogether like; that is, to haue had no beginning: how can ſhee reſemble him, but only in hauing no end, that is being immortall? For ſithence God made the World with two ſeuerall parts, the one Intelligible, the other, Senſible; the one Corruptible, the other Incorruptible; there needed a middle peece to knit and gather them together, which ſhould be partaking of the nature of them both. Man by an excellent art hath been made the middle peece; and therefore the perfections of both parts Intelligible and Senſible concurre in him. He hath by the meanes of the body the excellenteſt qualities that are in things Senſible and Corruptible; and by the meanes of the Soule, the excellenteſt conditions that are in the Incorruptible and Intelligible. And though by this mixture, that which is Celeſtiall in him is depreſſed, and euen as kneaded with earth, and weighed downe, nay ſunke by the burthen of the fleſh; neuertheleſſe, he ſheweth by a continuall ſtriuing, and endeauour of his nature, the place of his beginning, his inclination, and the end of his deſire; which is bent certainely euermore towards diuine Eſſence, and to poſſeſſe euen from this preſent life the happineſſe we obſerue in God. Aſſuredly, he ſhould neuer deſire this diuine Being, and ſhould not aſpire to it, if he did not comprehend it; and ſhould neuer comprehend it, if that wherewithall he apprehended it were mortall and periſhable.

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For what proportion ſhould there be from Immortalitie to Mortalitie? Now let vs ſee a little how much mans Vnderſtanding comprehends of it, how much of it his Will deſireth; and then any one whatſoeuer hee bee muſt needes confeſſe they are immortall.

Let vs conſider a little, I ſay, from this low and thicke darkeneſſe of the World with our Owles-eyes the light of diuine Nature. Let vs conſider the perfections wherewithall ſhee is endowed, and by the which as by her garments we know her and obſerue her. Shall not wee ſee preſently, they are all things which man runneth after naturally, and worketh continually to get them, and hath no pleaſure but in the poſſeſſion and fruition thereof? God is the ſoueraigne goodneſſe: What deſireth man? what doth he labour for, but for that which is good? If euer his affections be miſled, and apply themſelues to euill, they giue vnto it the name good: and proteſt they ſeeke it not, but in regard they deeme it to bee good. Take away from a thing the name of good, hee will make no reckoning of it; ſo well hee knowes himſelfe to be borne for that is good. So that whatſoeuer will intice him, muſt haue it either reall or in apparance.

God is the ſoueraigne wiſedome. Who is the man that deſireth not to be held wiſe, that ſhunneth not the reputation of a foole? who gouerneth not himſelfe with as much prudence as hee can? Who ſeeketh not for order and diſpoſition in all things,

that reioyceth not in himself when he can find it? that praiseth not, esteemeth, and admireth not those which are plentifully endowed with this wisedome, as approching neerest to the excellent end for the which man is borne? God is the soueraigne power: What doth man desire more then authoritie and command? Euery one aspireth naturally vnto it, and those which can doe it well, are honoured amongst men as a kinde of Demigods, sent hither for the conseruation and direction of the inferiour world. God is the soueraigne Truth: What is the vnderstanding of man bent to, but to Truth? What doth hee delight in? what doth hee yeeld vnto? but to the knowledge of that which is indeed, euen that which is not receiued but vnder the name of Truth. And there is not one so ill conditioned in the world, that is not grieued to erre, to bee ignorant, to bee deceiued; and contrariwise, that feeleth not pleasure and contentment by knowledge and learning. And truly we may say, that truth is the form of our vnderstanding, for he doth neither vnderstand, nor know, but as long as she is in him.

God is all, and all is in God. Man desireth to bee euery where; if he cannot carrie his body, he carrieth his minde to it. As farre as hee can, embraceth all, and filleth himselfe with the formes and Ideaes of all things. God is the authour of all, and delighteth in doing all. Man hath no greater pleasure in this World, then to bring foorth many things; and there

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is nothing delighteth him ſo much, as that which is produced by him, bee it children, workes, or inuentions. God is euer, and man feareth nothing ſo much as to end; and deſireth nothing ſo earneſtly as to perpetuate his being. Hee ſeeketh to doe it by the conſeruation of his life; being not able to performe it that way, hee endeauoureth to compaſſe it by the continuation of his poſteritie; and iudging that to bee too weake, hee tryeth to doe it by the purchaſing of a great and glorious fame. God doth gouerne all things iuſtly. Man loueth, honoureth, and ſeeketh for Iuſtice, as the ſole and ſure bond of life and ciuill ſocietie. It is wonderfull, how the loue of it is naturall to man; euen thoſe which being corrupted, will not receiue it for themſelues, honour it in others. God in his gouernment continueth ſtill in the ſelfe-ſame deſigne; and whatſoeuer man vndertaketh, hee deſireth to bring to paſſe; hee will not ſuffer himſelfe to bee ouercome by any difficultie or labour. It is ſtrange to ſee what men endure to execute their enterpriſes.

God liueth a plentifull, opulent, and pleaſant life; Wealth and pleaſure are the ordinary wiſhes of man. God doth contemplate, and admire himſelfe: Man conſidereth himſelfe, wondereth at his owne excellencie, vahieth himſelfe aboue all other creatures, and all his ſtudie aymeth to trimme and honour himſelfe, and make that appeare which is excellent in him. Briefely you can imagine nothing in that great and

ſoueraigne Creator, whereof you do not perceiue man to bee ſtrangely deſirous, and all motions bent to get it, and vnite and conforme himſelfe as much as hee can, to that eldeſt and incomprehenſible Diuine Eſſence. Which cauſed the Auncient *Zoroaſter* to crie out in amazement,

O mortall man, thy boldneſſe is extreame.

As beeing not able to comprehend that in this low and mortall World, amongſt Filth and Durt; there could bee found ſo ſtrong a nature, that ſhould rayſe her ſelfe aboue the Heauens, and by the knowledge of ſo many things, and imitation of diuine actions, ſhould almoſt Deifie her ſelfe in this life. But hee ſhould haue learned of an ancienter then hee; that that which is ſo wonderfull in man, is not a thing that comes from Earth or this low or corruptible place. It is a Diuine Eſſence euen as banifhed and exiled for a time from Heauen, her true place of aboade, which wandereth and erreth here in our body, endeauoureth her ſelfe continually to reach to her owne and true dwelling, and enter into celeſtiall and happy Habitation, vnto the which the neerer ſhee comes, ſo much the more diuine doth ſhe appeare.

Why ſhould you thinke, I pray you, that in the

the latter dayes of our Life, in that agonie and wreſtling betweene the Soule and the Body, our Minde hath more Strength and Vertue, diſpoſeth of all things more wiſely, and holyly, fore-ſeeth more certainely Time to come, foretelleth, and prophecyeth it; but onely for that hee beginneth to approach vnto his Off-ſpring, ioyne himſelfe againe with that immortall Beeing, and participate of Eternall Life? Doe not you obſerue, that Stones falling from high, the neerer they come vnto the Earth, the greater ſpeede they make downe? Fire contrariwiſe that aſcendeth vp towards Heauen, the higher it is, the more it haſteneth to flye; becauſe euerie thing naturally, the neerer it feeleth it ſelfe vnto its reſt, and that which it deſireth, the more it ſtriueth to come at it. Euen ſo our Soule, being iuſt vpon the point to enter againe into her owne Sphere, and reioyne her ſelfe vnto that Supreme Diuine Nature, ſheweth her ſelfe more vigorous and actiue, and doubleth her Vertue. Now, who ſhall make any doubt, but that is immortall, which is ſo Diuine, and tendeth perpetually vnto the Originall of Diuine beeing? Therefore the Immortalitie of the Soule ſhineth in all her Actions.

But though nothing elſe ſhould beare teſtimonie vnto it, Diuine Prouidence would ſhew it plainely: For ſeeing there is Prouidence (whereof I beleeue, that thoſe which haue Eyes, though

they had neyther Wit, nor Vnderſtanding, cannot doubt) there muſt needes be Iuſtice in the World; if there be Iuſtice, the Good muſt be rewarded, and the Wicked puniſhed. They are not euer ſo in this Life: where wee ſee often, Good men liue in Pouertie, and die in Trouble; and contrariwiſe, the Wicked liue in pleaſure, and die at quiet. Soules muſt needes then liue after the Body, to receiue the Reward or Puniſhment for their good or bad Actions. The Wicked deſire to ſmother by reaſoning, the feeling which Man hath of the Immortalitie of his Soule; but they cannot indeede. It is a Beame of Light, which Nature hath kindled in our heart, that is in ſtead of a Guide vnto Vertue, to direct her amidſt this Mortall Darkneſſe; and of a Furie-like Torch vnto Wickedneſſe, to anticipate her deſerued Torments. Wee Chriſtians are truely in this ſpecially farre happier then the Heathen; That God hath not contented himſelfe with that which wee could learne of the Immortalitie of our Soules, by the common Booke of Nature, and by the helpe of our weake Reaſon: but would himſelfe confirme the Teſtimonie of it vnto vs by his owne Word, and kindle into a cleare and full Light, the firſt Sparke of this Naturall Hope. O Diuine Goodneſſe! which preſented Truth vnto others, as veyled and couered; but brought it downe from Heauen all naked for vs, and powred it into our Mindes by the meanes of thy holy Word. Bleſſed and admirable Word,

Word, which affoordeth vs in a moment all the beſt and faireſt of that, which in ſo many yeeres Labours could not be gathered in the Mindes of the moſt Learned Philoſophers. Perfect Science, which leaueth no manner of Doubt after her Precepts! Excellent Diſcipline, whoſe Rules are all Principles, which perſwade themſelues. Wee learne from her, That our Soules are created, and produced by thy hands, and infuſed into our Bodyes, to conduct and gouerne them: That wee are placed heere, as in a Magnificent Temple, to contemplate therein thy Omnipotencie, Worſhip, thy infinite Goodneſſe, hearken to thy ſacred Will, and obey it: That this Life is but the Apprenticeſhip of our Soules, which after the Time, and Labours that are preſcribed vnto them, ſhall be relieued from their Watching, ſet at Libertie, and reſtored to Eternall Reſt; which will affoord them wherewithall to ſatisfie that deſire of Diuine being, whereof they haue caſt forth the firſt Sparkes, through this heauie and cumberſome Fleſh. From her wee learne furthermore, that after this Life, our Soules doe not onely finde another more happie, but euen our Bodyes rotting heere, as Seede in the Ground, ſhall ſpring into a new Fruit, and ſhall be rayſed vnto an Eſtate of Glorie and Perfection.

Therefore Diuinitie deſcending from Heauen, mingled her ſelfe againe with Fleſh, to mould and kneade againe our Humanitie, disfigured

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and defaced by Sinne; ioyned her ſelfe to vs, that ſhee might draw vs to her; humbled her ſelfe, to exalt vs; quickned her Humanitie after death, to make vs liue in the hope of that glorious Reſurrection, whereof ſhee was pleaſed to bee the Firſt Fruites; and by the which wee ſhall bee brought into the Inheritance of Glorie, receiuing in Body and Soule the incomprehenſible Splendour of Eternall Light. But the paſſage to arriue thereunto, is Death: Deſirable Death, ſeeing it makes vs change Liues with ſo much profit. Death, not Death, ſeeing it is the beginning of true Life; and that wee are in this Body onely, as the Chicken in the Shell, which muſt bee broken, ere it can be hatched; or like the Child in his Mothers Wombe, which muſt bee left ere wee can ſee the Day. Let vs ſuffer them to feare it, who thinke, that all periſheth with the Body; or them, which expect after it, the puniſhment of their Wickedneſſe. And ſeeing wee haue ſo many Teſtimonies, and ſo certaine Tokens of our future Life, and being ſure, that dying here in the feare of God, in the Faith of his beloued Sonne, and truſt in his Goodneſſe, wee ſhall liue againe aboue, and enter into Glorie with him, in the Throne of his Diuine Maieſtie: Let vs paſſe chearefully, and lay downe the Burthen that hindereth and ſtayeth vs, as wee would doe prophane Garments at the entrance of a holy Temple.

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As for mee, my Friends, I ſeele my ſelfe almoſt in the Harbour, with a great comfort of my Afflictions paſt; and immediately, for the Felicitie I expect. I haue floated in the World, in great and dangerous Stormes: They toſſed my Soule, but they could not (thankes bee to God) ouerthrow it. I know very well, that the Condition of Humane Infirmitie hath put mee backe, as ſhee doth all others, from the perfection God requireth in vs: but howſoeuer, it neuer made mee looſe the certaine and conſtant deſire to aduance his Honour, and Glory, nor abate any thing of the good affection a good Subiect oweth vnto his Countrey. My Conſcience beareth mee this Witneſſe, and this Witneſſe makes Death ſweete and pleaſant vnto mee. I could wiſh, euen at the laſt Gaſpe, I might doe the Publicke ſome Seruice: but hauing no other meanes for it, I will returne vnto you, which are my beſt Friendes, and its too; and for the laſt Office I can doe vnto this ſo holy Friendſhip, I will coniure you, that ſince you remayne heere, to ſhut vp the end of a moſt Wretched Age; you ſettle your Mindes, by braue and conſtant Reſolutions, to withſtand vndauntedly the Violence of the Tempeſt that threateneth this State, and your particular Fortunes: For all the Ages paſt, haue ſeene fewe Miſeries, and Calamities, but that you are like to ſee in your dayes.

The inside, the outside of the kingdome great and small are like vnto mad men, bent to its ruine and desolation. You shall bee amazed one of these dayes, when as you shall see the Lawes ouerthrowne, the Gouernment altered, all put into confusion: those that shall haue the Gouernement, beare the intent to loose both themselues, and their owne Countrey; and good men shall not bee suffered to open their Mouth, and giue good and wholesome Counsell.

Remember then you are men, and true hearted subiects vnto this crowne. Let not your courage run away from you with your good Fortune. Stand fast vpon Right and Reason, and if the Waues and Billowes must carry you away, let them ouerwhelme you with the Rudder in your hand still. Behold the the time, that you must present your brest against Fortune for the defence of the State, and couer your countries body with your owne. Certainely this ruine cannot bee auoyded without a great and generous courage, of such as shall oppose themselues against it, which all good men in my opinion are bound to doe. Neuertheless, you must qualifie by Prudence what an obstinate austeritie would but exasperate, and make worse; and follow Destinie: without forsaking Vertue. Doing well, yon shall shall runne into great hazards, and shall suffer many iniuries: but what can there happen so strange and horrible, that the

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hope of the ſoueraigne good, wherein I ſhall preuent you doth not aſwage?

There is well-neere the ſame words that were vttered vnto vs by that great and wiſe Perſonage. I rehearſed them vnto you againſt my Will, knowing full well that the weakeneſſe of my Memorie, and harſhneſſe of my Tongue, would looſe much of the weight of his Reaſons, and of the grace of his Diſcourſe. But if you had heard him himſelfe, with his ſweete and pleaſing faſhion, hee had kindled in your ſoules ſo liuely and ardent a deſire of eternall felicitie, that there is no affliction in the world, the ſenſe whereof hee had not taken away from you.

There *Linus* ended his ſpeech, and I beeing heartened and cheered vp, ſayd; Certainly this was a very fine Diſcourſe, ſeeing that you, who in all other things giue mee ſuch ſatisfaction, ſeemed vnto mee in the recitall of this to goe beyond your ſelfe. I beleeue the Idea and remembrance of that great perſonage, that is yet freſh and preſent in your Memorie, for the honour and loue you bore vnto him, quickned your tongue, and inſpired into you ſome thing more then humane. Would to God this ſpeech might continue as long as our miſeries; I am ſure I ſhould haue my Eares full of ſuch Diſcourſes, and my Minde free from Sor-

Sorrowes. I ſweare vnto you, that ſince the time this Calamitie fell vpon vs, I found nothing that made this Life more tolerable vnto mee, then what I heard from you three theſe three laſt dayes, but ſpecially to day.

It is reported, That *Ptolomæus* was forced to forbid *Egeſias* the *Cyrenian* to diſcourſe any more in publick of the Immortalitie of the Soule, becauſe the moſt part of thoſe which heard him, haſtened their death with their owne hands. That makes mee beleeue, hee was ill acquainted with the Subiect hee handled. For I beleeue, there is nothing in the World giueth vs more courage, to endure patiently our Miſeries, then the Reaſons I learned euen now from you; which in few wordes repreſented vnto vs, what is the cauſe and the end of our Afflictions, and what recompence our Patience findeth, when wee can perſeuer in it vnto the end. Wherefore I could wiſh, for the comfort of my poore diſtreſſed Countrey, contrarie to that which was done to *Egeſias*, you ſhould bee conſtrayned all three to continue in publicke ſuch a Diſcourſe. But for as much as it is a thing I cannot hope for, I am reſolued to preſerue carefully in my Memorie all that I learned from you about it; and at my firſt leyſure (if our fortunate Studyes can get any) ſet it downe in Writing, to leaue it vnto Poſteritie, for to inſtruct in like occaſions thoſe that ſhall come after vs; and let them know, that

that in a moſt corrupted Age, and amongſt
men ſtrangely deprived of all Naturall Affecti-
on, wee haue liued with a great compaſſi-
on of the publicke Miſerie, and yet
with a farre greater deſire to
bee able to helpe
it.

FINIS.